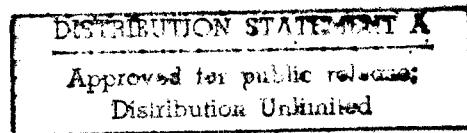


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USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

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USSR REPORT

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No 1, January 1987

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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E.A. Arab-Ogly, B.S. Arkhipov,
Yu.N. Afanasyev, N.B. Bikkennin,
K.N. Brutents, R.K. Vid,
V.I. Kadulin, Yu. L. Molchanov
L.K. Naumenko, Ye.Z. Razumov,
V.F. Rubtsov, N.N. Sibiryakov,
V.P. Trubnikov, P.N. Fedoseyev

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EDITORIAL--70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: THE REVOLUTION GOES ON
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[Text] As he crosses the invisible line of a new year, man tends to look back and to sum up accomplishments. Equally strong is the desire to look into the future, and see in it his own personal destiny, the future of his country and the vital future of all mankind. This sharpened feeling of time is manifested particularly strongly today, when history is approaching the third millennium. Awareness of time, the German philosopher Kant said 2 centuries ago, is the basis of all human cognitive activities. The ability to be in step with one's age has nothing in common with the cold ability to record the change of years which disappear forever into the past. To feel time means to be involved with it, to consider oneself a particle of the irrepressible ascent of mankind on the ladder of social progress.

To be in step with one's time means to be a participant in truly revolutionary changes and processes of renovation in our country, which is reaching the 70th anniversary of its socialist history. We are entering the year 1987, the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a year of intensive work by the Soviet people who are implementing the historical resolutions of the 27th congress of the Leninist party, which will become another important landmark in its advance to its new qualitative status.

In the long line of events in universal history we may initially detect a number of similar occurrences. However, the true similarity between historical situations is defined not by superficial analogies but by a profound genetic similarity and a genetically tested comparability of content among ages and among the social forces which operate in the main directions of social development.

Today we are describing as revolutionary the period of restructuring and renovation occurring in all areas of life in Soviet society. We find in this a comparison with the processes initiated with the Great October Revolution. What is the similarity here and why is the party describing the radical changes occurring in the country as revolutionary? What is the difference, the specific nature of our present? Answers to such questions should be sought in the continuity of the ideas which inspired the revolutionary masses in 1917 and are creating today's building energy. The answer to this question should be sought in the creative thinking and acting inherent in the

communists, which is bringing about qualitative changes in our life today. Finally, such answers may be found in the very nature of the headlong and spasmodic changes characteristic of this age, which require fast and political and strategic decisions and the right response to the challenge of history. Today's changes in our country, which are revolutionary in their nature, are taking place under conditions in which socialism built in the USSR is attaining a qualitatively new condition on its own basis.

The humanistic ideals of the liberation of man from the oppression of exploitation, hunger, poverty and ignorance and the horrors and shame of imperialist slaughter, and the ideals of social justice led the rebelling workers, peasants and soldiers to launch the onslaught of the October Revolution. In the first post-revolutionary days Lenin wrote that "the cause of justice is on our side. Our victory is certain" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 66). We are defending the cause of justice and real humanism today as well, when the trend of the socialist social system directed toward the good of man, his interests, needs and aspirations, is manifested ever more fully and comprehensively. The absolute priority of human values, the concerned protector and defender of which was, and remains, the international working class and its socialist nucleus, the social vanguard of mankind, is becoming increasingly clear in the policy of the Communist Party. Priority among the values of civilization defended by communism ever since October 1917 continues to be given to the right of the man to life, and the right to peace and well-being.

The start of last year was marked by the decisive actions taken by the land of the soviets in this area. In his 15 January 1986 declaration, M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, formulated a specific and impressive program in the struggle for peace and gradual elimination of mass destruction weapons. Based on the realities of the nuclear space age, we took a step of unparalleled daring, repeatedly extending the one-sided moratorium on nuclear explosions, which began in August 1985. The long silence which descended on Soviet testing grounds was the best confirmation of the effectiveness of the new style of political thinking, so greatly needed by the modern world. This is a new type of truly global, planetary approach to the solution of political problems. Under its influence, the nations on earth and political and social forces of the most different orientations and concepts are increasingly realizing that the very existence of civilization and mankind is threatened and that the time has come to take urgent and responsible steps which require the extreme mobilization of reason and common sense.

The United Nations proclaimed 1986 a year of peace. Unfortunately, it did not become a year of any noticeable lowering of danger. As in the past, shots were heard, blood was shed and people died in a variety of "hot points" on earth. The fault for this is above all that of the forces of imperialism and the policy dictated by the military-industrial circles in the West and the inability of its political leadership to rise above the old mental stereotypes and base its policies on the realities of our time. Under these circumstances, the new political thinking formulated by the vanguard of Soviet society becomes a powerful intellectual prerequisite for the safeguard of civilization. The political courage of the CPSU and its leadership, which was manifested with tremendous strength in the dramatic event of Reykjavik, and in

the systematic and persistent practical steps aimed at creating a system of universal security, are contributing to the increased efficiency of this active factor of peace.

At the same time, this new type of thinking, realistic in content and revolutionary in spirit, manifested in the peace-loving international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, has an essentially class base and grows on the grounds of Marxist-Leninist ideology which is developing all of its basic, its key stipulations. Today's realities--the complexity and interdependence of a largely integral and very contradictory world--does not void Marx's forecast concerning the future of mankind united on a communist basis. Today the struggle for peace and social progress are becoming increasingly interwoven and the unity of action among all forces of liberation and mass democratic and antiwar movements is strengthening even further. The dynamism and strength of contemporary social processes confirm the creative power of Marxist-Leninist theory and the dialectics of the progress of mankind toward higher forms of social organization, which was brought to light by the classics of scientific communism.

The Great October Revolution is a revolution which asserts true democracy as a means of the existence of a social system, developing government by the people and through the people in terms of the economic foundations of society, political relations, cultural life and moral standards. This was the base of the very first steps of the young Soviet republic, when the dialectics of centralism and democracy was crystallized in the tide of revolutionary meetings and when the principles of the functioning and advancement of the state of a new type, created by the victorious proletariat, were taking shape. It was in the course of fiercest trials, in which our history abounds, that this democratic, this popular foundation of the Soviet state system found its vitality and significantly increased its potential in the course of the development and consolidation of socialist self-government.

The October Revolution became synonymous with creativity, development and irrepressible progress, making its way through all obstacles. This was the revolution of a sincere and merciless truth, a revolution of renovation which required firmness of convictions and flexibility of mind, and which called for decisive actions. A time of revolution, Lenin pointed out, "is a time of action from the top and from the bottom" (op cit., vol 11, p 85), in which there is no place for meaningless and abstract reasoning and endless debates. Moving ahead in fact, as our nearly 70-year old experience teaches us, can be achieved only by exerting the greatest possible efforts and in the course of a tireless struggle for the new.

The Great October Revolution is a revolution which is continuing in the practice of perfecting and developing socialism which has been built in our country and in the further radical changes which express the humanistic nature of the new system and contribute to the identification of the creative constructive opportunities of man and the creation of the type of living and working conditions which are worthy of a citizen of the first socialist society on earth.

These features of the October Revolution live in the current accomplishments of the Soviet people. Revolutionary continuity, embodied in communist policy, does not mean the blind following of even the best models and canons of the past. Here old approaches will not do. The Leninist understanding of continuity mandatorily means progress, the identification and solution of new problems and the elimination of anything which hinders this movement. As was pointed out at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum, the party strictly observes this Leninist tradition, enriching and improving its policy. In other words, the cause of the October Revolution is continued through the revolutionary innovation in the formulation and solution of problems created by reality. The firmness and stability of the political course are inseparable from a daring drive into the future and the creative search for new approaches and the ability firmly to reject obsolete and stereotyped concepts which are trailing rapidly developing social reality.

The April 1985 resolutions and the course of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and of comprehensive restructuring, profoundly developed at the 27th CPSU Congress and supported by the Soviet people, were examples of such an approach and of loyalty to ideals and the creative spirit of the October Revolution. Looking at the year which has passed since the party congress, the year of first and immediate actions taken for the restructuring of the economic mechanism, a year of significant enrichment of sociopolitical and spiritual life under the influence of the congress' ideas, one can immediately see the positive changes which are taking place in politics, economics and culture, in the moral climate, in the very attitude toward the person and his problems and in the style and methods of work of all components of our social organism.

Why is the party describing such changes as revolutionary? According to tradition, we have become accustomed to identify the revolution with a change in the very foundations, in the base of society, in the production method. Yet in this case the cornerstone of the socioeconomic system was and remains unchanged: inviolable social ownership of the means of production, and a planned nature of the socialist economy; the principles governing the organization of the political system, as codified in the USSR Constitution, retain their validity; Marxist-Leninist ideology was and remains dominant.

Those who consider in today's process of renovation not that which is encompassed within it but something almost like "shaking up the foundations" and the rejection of the socialist and communist future of social development should turn to Lenin's evaluation of the nature and content of reforms under the conditions of the victorious socialist revolution. On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, in considering the new approaches to the solution of basic problems caused by the greatest social upheaval in history, Vladimir Ilich drew attention to the revolutionary essence of methods of economic building which did not appear revolutionary in the least. In describing such methods as "reformist" (as opposed to the method of direct "storm and pressure"), Lenin emphasized their significance in the further development of the cause of the revolutionary, which could not be reduced in the least to a single act of power seizure but had to organize the new system. The leader of the revolution gave priority to painstaking work in "refinishing and redoing" the Soviet system as it reached the next height and

as new tasks appeared. "...The gains of the revolution," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "can no longer be the same as in the past. They inevitably change their nature depending on the conversion from the military to the economic front and to a new economic policy, and the conditions which require, above all, greater labor productivity and greater labor discipline. At such times the main gain of the revolution is improving the internal, concealed, not striking and not immediately visible nature of labor, its organization and results...." (op cit., vol 44, p 122).

Such an "internal" economic as well as cultural, social and political improvement is a truly revolutionary task in the course of the present restructuring, the purpose of which is to eliminate phenomena of stagnation and to prepare for a decisive thrust forward, on the way to reaching a qualitatively new condition in society. The novel and unusual nature of its approaches are based on the Leninist analysis of the dialectics of revolutionary and "reformist" methods of socialist change.

"The attitude of the reform toward the revolution," Lenin wrote in the article "On the Importance of Gold Today, Even After the Full Victory of Socialism," "was defined accurately and precisely only by Marxism; Marx was able to see this attitude only from one side, i.e., in the circumstances which preceded the first somewhat durable and somewhat lengthy victory of the proletariat even in a single country. Under these circumstances, the proper attitude was based on the following: reform is the side product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.... After the victory of the proletariat, even in a single country, something new appears in the attitude of reform toward the revolution. Essentially, the project remains the same. A change appears in form, which Marx personally could not predict but which can be realized on the basis of Marxist philosophy and politics" (op cit., vol 44, p 228).

Today society is faced with the need for quality changes in virtually all areas: in the development of production forces and production relations, in the radical and comprehensive democratization of the sociopolitical and humanitarian areas of social life, the intensification of spiritual progress and the development of the individual as the main social value. It is a question of a new quality of socialist growth which allows and, given some objective and subjective conditions, also presumes, a revolutionary nature of changes. Looking at history, such truly revolutionary actions, included the country's industrialization, the cooperativization of the countryside, the solution of the national problem and the reorganization in culture. Under contemporary conditions the "bridgehead" of revolutionary action broadens substantially and the revolution itself takes place on its own basis, on the basis of what has been "gained and recorded" in the course of decades of building socialism. The current crucial period, the need for the fastest possible elimination of the consequences of the slowed down development and of the errors and unfinished projects of the recent past make it necessary to engage in truly revolutionary actions: they must be revolutionary in terms of their immediacy, depth and pace of implementation. Therefore, in the course of the restructuring the solution of immediate and even "overdue" problems of revolutionary change takes place both essentially and in terms of the many means of solving them. This involves, above all, the aspiration to undertake without delay the implementation of the stipulations of the 27th Congress,

daring in the formulation of the crucial problems of our development, their open and frank discussion, a growing unity between words and actions and an strict lack of compromise in cadre policy.

"We are going through an interesting stage, an interesting area of historical development and we want to renovate all aspects of our life on a socialist basis," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in his meeting with the participants in the Issyk-Kul forum. "We are not abandoning our values or what we believe in, that which brought Russia to its present level. We have simply found out that what our system is providing for the development of the economy, the social area and culture was used poorly or, to say the least, insufficiently. Furthermore, we found out that certain deformations have taken place in our country, totally conflicting with socialist values. The fact that we have taken now the path of restructuring, making use of openness and democracy, has met with tremendous response among our people. We feel a kind of support which has not existed perhaps for decades."

The concept of the revolutionary nature of such changes is meeting with increasing understanding and approval by many Soviet people--workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals. Here is a letter to the editors by N.S. Matorov, CPSU member since 1940, a propagandist in Kuybyshev: "The revolutionary cleansing is sharply clashing with the forces of inertia, conservatism, whitewashing, etc. Although this revolution is without guns and is not against the class enemy, it turns out that it too demands of the people who have actively joined it inordinate courage and, sometimes, a certain material sacrifice, civic maturity and moral firmness." These words express moral enthusiasm and the desire to work energetically and tirelessly for the implementation of the party's plans. The Soviet people are unanimously in favor of restructuring. What concerns them most of all is that no weakening of efforts be allowed in any area and for the work to be conducted from the top and from the bottom, encompassing all social units and institutions and be paralleled by a restructuring of production collectives. This most favorable situation and powerful spiritual support must be used immediately, in restructuring all areas of our building. In the present situation we cannot delay or postpone the most important features "for later." Otherwise, the words of restructuring and acceleration, which are effective today will lose their freshness and novelty and will start "idling."

What is the essence of these changes, which are revolutionary both in nature and method, occurring in various areas of social life? What does it mean to think and act in a revolutionary manner under our circumstances? These questions are answered by the practice of the country's socioeconomic development and the tangible changes which have been initiated as well as the restructuring of the profound, the basic aspects of the national economy and in political and social relations.

A prime role is played here by changes in the economy, which is the most important field of application of the efforts of the party and Soviet people. The radical restructuring of the mechanisms for the implementation of the basic, the essential features and advantages of the economic managements system, the beginning of which was laid by the October Revolution, is taking place on the firm foundations of socialist social ownership and within the

framework of a planned economy. A broad technical restructuring of the entire national economy is taking place, including its structural reorganization, in the course of which priority is given to the development of machine building on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. Under our very eyes a new economic mechanism is developing, free from the obsolete shortcomings which hindered economic growth over a long period of time. Reserves related to the utilization of commodity-monetary relations, total cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing are being used more extensively. Starting with the new year, construction, industry, railroad transportation and trade are taking a wide step in mastering the new working conditions. The conversion from partial "finishing" and "redoing" operations to an overall radical reform in administration and economic management, extending to planning, financing, price-setting, procurements and all stages of the reproduction cycle and factors of economic growth, is already taking place. The reform, which will combine within a single entity the national economic, sectorial, regional and programmatic levels of economic management is being implemented. The first step toward solving these problems and working in a new fashion substantially influenced last year's results. The highest growth of national income and industrial output of the last 10 years was attained; the planned level of productivity was exceeded; the lowering of outlays per unit of output exceeded the planned figure. Average annual assignments for the growth of agricultural output were nearly doubled. The 1986 gross grain harvest reached some 210 million tons, which is almost 30 million tons more than the average for the past 5 years.

These figures are quite encouraging. However, we must not forget that these are merely the first steps. The restructuring is taking place unevenly, spasmodically: a number of indicators have still not been attained, and even "first line" reserves have not been put to use, such as discipline, order and organization. Nor has there been any change in the quality of our work. Major steps were taken in 1986 to improve production quality. A system of state inspection was introduced at many enterprises and control was intensified along the entire technological chain, from design to end labor results of hundreds of collectives. This enables us to follow-up results along the entire widespread chain of economic and organizational relations in the national economy and to determine where precisely contacts break and points at which the flow of constructive energy is interrupted and progress is blocked. In many of its aspects, the year of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution will be crucial to the future of the 5-year plan and, therefore, the entire restructuring and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

Changes of truly revolutionary significance are also taking place in the development of socialist ownership relations. Naturally, in no case is it a question of "eliminating" or replacing them with any other form of ownership, as our bourgeois "well-wishers" are claiming. However, having studied the problems of the recent past, we have realized most clearly that even with the predominant socialist ownership, processes of stagnation and even reverses are possible, as well as extreme carelessness, waste and deformations in distribution and other areas of economic management. It is obvious that nothing is automatic in applying the advantages of socialist ownership. Everything depends on how we handle it. Many of the new methods applied in its

utilization today are radical. They offer scope for developing its cooperative forms and using reserves of individual labor activeness. Extensive experimentation is taking place in enhancing economic interest and creating additional material and moral incentives for energetic and purposeful work by every working person. Such a daring quest and "combat reconnaissance" along the entire front of economic building occasionally frightens people who think and act timidly; the occurring processes do not always fit customary systems which have taken years to develop. However, it is not a question of engaging in a search for its own sake and making changes for their own sake. It is important to subject various approaches to practical tests as quickly as possible and to assess their efficiency and consistency with the main trend followed in our development. Some methods and approaches which are being developed today may not pass such tests and will have to be abandoned. In this case the social and, above all, economic sciences must offer their important opinions.

Despite the entire separate significance, the steps taken to enhance the economy are oriented toward the implementation of the supreme objective: the comprehensive development of the person. This humanistic principle codified in the CPSU program is based on the first programmatic document of Marxism: the fact that the free development of the individual is a prerequisite for the free development of all. This principle determines not only the future activities of the party but also the specific guidelines of its present social policy. The very first program of the revolutionary party of a new type--the Bolshevik Party--which was adopted at the beginning of the 20th century related the tasks of the revolutionary elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the introduction of a "planned organization of the socioproduction process" to attaining the main objective: ensuring the "well-being and all-round development of all members of society." The October Revolution marked the beginning of turning this projection into reality.

The humanistic nature of communist activities is embodied in the practice of a strong and active party social policy. This too is part of the revolutionary essence of present-day changes, a kind of "reemphasizing" development priorities. We have real prerequisites for raising the people to a qualitatively new level and ensuring the type of standard and quality of life worthy of the member of a socialist society. However, a fully revolutionary turn to the individual with his requirements and needs demands new solutions and actions and the elimination of a number of concepts and mental stereotypes. From the psychological point of view, this shift of emphasis is difficult. Firmly established in the minds of the economic managers is the "residual" logic when it is a question of sociocultural construction and real concern for the people. Furthermore, although in the past as well we proclaimed our humanistic objectives, we did not always have the necessary forces and means for their maximal implementation and those which were available were not always properly used. Now, when substantially greater funds are being allocated and corresponding priorities have been included in the plans, "by habit" the available possibilities for the accelerated development of the social sphere are still not used as intensively as our time demands. This means that we need a psychological restructuring and efficient and decisive actions, for it is precisely in social policy that the humanistic nature of the socialist system and its qualitative difference from capitalism

are manifested most extensively and clearly. Concern for the individual and for the development of his capabilities and talents are among the main guidelines of restructuring. Close attention must be paid to combining scientific and technical progress with the interests of the people in such a way as to invariably observe the "primacy" of the individual, whose dignity must not be depreciated, so that the person may feel that he is a real, an active creative worker.

The intensification of democracy is the prerequisite for, method and result of revolutionary restructuring. "We must include the people in the restructuring process through the democratization of society," M.S. Gorbachev noted in his Krasnodar speech. "Speaking of the essence of the restructuring, I would reduce it to a simple formula: we must create the type of prerequisites within each labor collective, each party organization, oblast, republic, sector and central department, within the entire party, which would make our people feel that they are the masters of the country."

The October Revolution eliminated age-old prejudices according to which only a certain segment of the population could participate in administration, by shifting such functions to the majority of and, subsequently, the entire people. Having converted the working people from voiceless (or merely "voting") objects of politics into subjects of true political action, into participants in governmental life, the revolution enhanced in the people their feeling of dignity and self-respect. It is thus that proletarian and social democracy found their true humanistic meaning. The political domination of the proletariat was, as Engels said, "the only door opening to the new society," a society of freedom, equality and social justice. Government of the people by the people themselves is a humanistic ideal of the communists, which became apparent in the very first programmatic works of the Marxist classics. It found its real embodiment in the practice of socialism, in the functioning of its political system. By including ever new contingents of people in the real process of administering state and public affairs, the system of the working people also democratizes the formulation and, most importantly, the implementation of most important political decisions.

Theoretically, self-government by the people has been given various interpretations. We frequently think only of the autonomy of local authorities and economic units, in which self-government implied nothing but factionalism, decentralization and virtual lack of control. Occasionally it was even presented as a kind of opposite of any governmental activity. Briefly, such one-sided concepts of the processes of strengthening the state and developing self-government seemed to have followed their separate way, without intersecting and, sometimes, even by clashing with each other. Relatively recently such concepts developed into the unjustified prediction that the withering away of the socialist state would mean a gradual "shifting" of its functions to public organizations.

We must most clearly say that such forecasts were not based on the actual processes of development of our state. Self-government by the people is growing and maturing not outside but within socialist statehood, increasingly penetrating governmental and social life. It is thus that the democratic organizations of society become enriched under the socialist system. The

socialist nature of the basic principle of our system--democratic centralism--and the dialectical interconnection between its two principles are strengthened and intensified.

What does this mean in practical terms? It means, above all, strengthening the authority and influence and broadening the range of competence of the soviets of people's deputies, which are the political foundation of the USSR. The soviets were the result of the revolutionary creativity of the working people. They were the embodiment of the initiative of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, who channeled their inexhaustible energy into building a state of a new type. In the decades which followed after October 1917, the soviets developed into a powerful and widespread system of authorities combining legislative, administrative and controlling activities. Today, however, we are no longer satisfied with the level of their efficiency. The party decisions which were made last year on enhancing the role of the soviets are aimed at achieving a decisive change in their work content and style and increasing their actual influence on restructuring. The responsibility of the soviets for all that takes place on their territory will be significantly enhanced; their rights will be expanded, particularly in terms of sectorial management authorities; the activities of the deputies will be enhanced and some routine procedures for convening and holding sessions and the work of permanent commissions, and so on, will be democratized. In other words, it is a question of a kind of "revival" of the power of the soviets in its Leninist understanding. This too is a truly revolutionary task.

Real and comprehensive self-government, which is precisely that to which we are aspiring, has nothing in common with bureaucratic "officiating," which is totally unrelated to the true needs, interests and demands of the people. This is the purpose of the steps taken to enhance all sociopolitical structures and institutions, both of representative and direct democracy, and encouraging their turn from formal-routine and boring "functioning" to real work for the good of the people. The regular congresses of the trade unions and the Komsomol will be held in 1987. New social organizations are also being created representing the interests of veterans (the constituent conference of the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans was held last year), and women.

Self-government was given a new impetus in the labor collectives themselves, which we justifiably consider the basic nuclei of our social organism. The rights granted to the collective will be supported by the currently drafted law on the socialist enterprise, which will help us more accurately to include the plant, factory or production association within the economic management system based on cost accounting, and the fuller and flexible utilization of the potential of democratic centralism.

The tremendous creative potential of democracy, which enables us, within the framework of the socialist system, to implement radical reforms in the management system, convincingly refutes the false stereotyped concepts of socialism as a "one-dimensional," "totalitarian" and "rigidly hierarchical" society. The live nature of our system and variety and flexibility of forms of democracy are a guarantee of its vitality and capacity for steady progress.

In other words, the entire 70 years of socialist history on Soviet soil and the current practice of accelerated progress toward a new qualitative status of society most clearly highlight a basic feature and trend of the new system, such as constant development and steady progress. The society we have built is one of developing socialism, ascending and aspiring toward the future. The founders of Marxism themselves firmly opposed the pseudosocialist "theoreticians" who tried to depict the future society "not as something always changing and advancing but as something stable, set once and for all...." The mocked those who drafted philistine-limited models of the future in which everything was exactly prescribed, as well as and the way in which affairs will be conducted in such an ideally structured and programmed world.

The principle of development and renovation, which was laid in the foundations of real socialism has been particularly active at crucial stages in history and embodied in the conscious and purposeful activities of the people. The laws of dialectics define the nature of the establishment and advancement of the new system at the present stage as well. Today as well in the case of socialism life anticipates contradictions resolved, to use Marx's metaphor, by no means in a "calm and polite manner." Developing socialism means a hard and sometimes exhaustive struggle between the old and the new, the elimination of periods of stagnation which alternate with accelerated movement, and ascension to higher levels of progress.

Any efforts at concentrating merely on recording accomplishments and tranquilizing assessments of accomplishments can only lead to high costs in the economy and the social and ideological-moral spheres and to stagnation in spiritual life. Shakespeare himself noted that "...time travels in divers paces with divers persons. I'll tell you who time ambles withal, who time trots withal, who time gallops withal, and who he stands still withal." Such is the law of history. Only he who catches up with time, who accelerates it will not fall behind the demands of life. That is precisely the meaning of being a revolutionary today, to be loyal to the banner and ideals of the October Revolution. Across the centuries, the lines of the great poet of the Renaissance meet with the thought expressed by Aleksandr Tvardovskiy:

"The road is not straight and the upsurge is not simple. Whether you are big or small, however, you must only go forward and rush as though pursued by the flames of the day."

On this level "a breathing spell means trouble," and falling behind is the equivalent of a defeat. Our time mandates to us to act with the acceleration of the October Revolution, feeling our responsibility to history.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will unquestionably be noted with a nation-wide labor upsurge. The frontranking production collectives have launched the initiative of welcoming the anniversary with shock work. The anniversary of the October Revolution is also a time for enhancing public thinking, which is called upon not merely to record accomplishments and compare the present with pre-October Revolution statistics. It is important to depict from various sides, as the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" notes, and to display the comprehensive experience of our party and people, drawing attention "to the as

yet unsolved" problems of the revolution (Lenin). Particularly topical today is the study of the interconnection between the ideas of the October Revolution and the current party course and a depiction of the universal-historical role of the October Revolution, its humanistic meaning and the pioneering and innovative nature of socialist reorganizations in the country. Errors and omissions which occurred along the difficult historical path of the Soviet people will not be ignored. At sharp turns in history, the Leninist party, properly assessing such phenomena, has invariably found accurate solutions for further progress on the path of the October Revolution. Today as well the actions and thoughts of the Soviet people and the party's revolutionary and innovative policy are inseparable from the spirit and traditions of the unforgettable 1917. The living link of times is unbreakable!

With every passing year mankind grows older but also becomes younger: social life is being steadily renovated. As we begin the new year of 1987 we are taking yet another step into the future. Bringing the future closer and working for the ideals of humanism, socialist morality and justice to be embodied in life is the essence of the activities of the Communist Party. As was the case 70 years ago, the wind of the century fills the sails of socialism. The revolution goes on!

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NEW THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME; MEETING OF EDITORS OF JOURNALS OF COMMUNIST AND WORKER PARTIES

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[Text] As was already reported in this journal (No 18, 1986), on the initiative of KOMMUNIST, a meeting of editors of theoretical press organs of 37 fraternal parties and of AL-NAHJ, the collective organ of the communist parties of Arab countries, and of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the theoretical and information journal of 70 communist and worker parties, was held in Moscow on 3-5 December 1986. A total of 41 press organs were represented at the meeting. The participants included leaders and members of leading organs of fraternal parties. Guests included Ruben Dario Sousa, secretary general of the Panamanian People's Party. The KOMMUNIST delegation consisted of I. Frolov, CPSU Central Committee member and KOMMUNIST editor in chief, K. Brutents, CPSU Central Committee candidate member and member of the editorial staff and V. Trubnikov, member of the journal's editorial staff.

The topic of the meeting as agreed upon at the preliminary consultations among the journals was "New Theoretical and Political Problems of Our Time." The participants set the agenda jointly. This was a roundtable meeting at which representatives of the fraternal organs of Marxist theoretical thinking, consistent with the democratic principles of autonomy, independence and equality among all participants, freely exchanged views on topical problems of the contemporary stage in the international struggle waged by the communists against the threat of thermonuclear war and for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, with based on full consideration of the viewpoints of the participants. In addition to the main speeches, which were of equal length, the roundtable participants discussed problems of universal significance to the communist movement, held in a spirit of class solidarity and comradely advice. The envoys of the fraternal journals shared their experience in the ideological work of their parties and discussed ways of further strengthening creative contacts among their publications for the sake of increasing communist contribution in the struggle for the common objectives of peace and social progress.

The meeting was held in a frank, constructive and friendly atmosphere. It was the first meeting of representatives of Marxist theoretical publications held on such a scale.

Its participants met with A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, who described to the representatives of the fraternal journals the experience of CPSU theoretical work under contemporary conditions and answered numerous questions.

With this issue the editors initiate publication of the proceedings of the meeting, abridged because of space limitations.

In opening the first working session with a brief greeting speech, I. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief said: Today our journals are being read by millions of communists and progressive people throughout the world, people who are seeking answers to the major problems of our time.

What can we tell them? What should we frankly discuss with them in the present difficult, alarming and crucial international situation, under the conditions of the specific historical period in which the world finds itself? What problems could we describe as primary, most urgent and vitally important? What will be the answer of the party members to the challenge of our dramatic time? In my view, such would be the pivotal idea of the Moscow roundtable meeting of communist theoreticians and journalists who spread their parties' word among the broad masses. I am particularly pleased by the fact that at our forum we shall be able to hear the voice of communists from four continents, obtain a maximum amount of mutually useful information and understand better and more profoundly the positions held and views expressed by others and really see the ways leading to enhancing the interaction among our parties on the theoretical front.

The speaker further dealt with procedural questions for the work sessions, which were approved by all participants, by consensus (the order of the presentations was determined by the name of the country, based on the Russian alphabet, alternating between the beginning and the end of the alphabet).

Speeches. J. Laborde, member of the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee, director of NUEVA ERA ("New Era"), the political and theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Argentina:

I thank the editors of KOMMUNIST for the valuable initiative of assembling such a representative group of participants in this roundtable meeting. Above all, I would like to emphasize the outstanding international significance of the 27th CPSU Congress. Its resolutions are of exceptional importance not only to the USSR but the entire world. The Leninist peace-loving policy, which firmly opposes the militaristic course of imperialism is a ray of light which instills in the hearts of the people on our planet hope for their future. That is why it would be no exaggeration to say that all strata of the Argentine people warmly support the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the suggestions formulated by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev. We considered the foreign policy course of the Leninist Party a tremendous contribution to the prevention of a nuclear war which could put an end to the existence of mankind itself.

We also fully support the efforts of the CPSU to give socialism new powerful impetus in the economic, social and intellectual spheres. This will

demonstrate even more clearly the superiority of the new system over capitalism.

Our country, like all the peoples in Latin America, know the cost of the predatory and aggressive policy of imperialism from bitter personal experience. This policy is the main reason for economic crises in our continent. We are not only being plundered through unequal trade conditions and the extraction of fabulous profits from investments and huge interest rates on our foreign debts. A part of our territory as well has been seized--the Malvinas--where NATO is setting up a military base directly aimed at all the peoples of the area who are fighting for total national liberation.

Our party's 16th Congress, which was held in November 1986, proclaimed the need for organically combining actions in the defense of peace and against the threat of war with the anti-imperialist struggle, which is an important component of the struggle for peace and disarmament. The dialectics of the struggle for revolutionary objectives and the defense of peace in our nuclear age is by no means a simple problem. However, we are convinced that not the social status quo but the weakening of imperialism in the course of the revolutionary battles fought by the peoples will help to strengthen peace.

After 11 months of study and self-critical discussions, based on documents drafted the Central Committee, a frank exchange of views, unprecedented in our history, took place at the congress; the political, ideological and organizational consequences of right-wing reformist deviation with which the party was afflicted for a number of years were exposed. This opportunistic deviation played a fatal role during the period of military dictatorship which was in power in our country (1976-1983) and weakened seriously the positions of the working class and the democratic public circles in the national political arena. Relying on the support of the party masses, we were able to surmount the deviation and restore the revolutionary path, the path of the people's anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution. At the same time, we support the positive antiwar aspects of the present policy of the current government.

In discussing the conclusions of the congress, Laborde emphasized that in order to eliminate contradictions between production forces and production relations an end must put in the country to the power of the monopolies, the land and financial oligarchy and dependence on imperialism. In order to solve the grave problems encountered by the popular masses, revolutionary changes must be made which would open the path to socialism and the establishment of a system of a new type and to the power of the working class and its allies.

In order to move the revolutionary process ahead, a political instrument which can direct the struggle of the masses is vitally necessary. This should be the purpose of a national and social liberation front, whose present prototype is the Popular Front, which includes communists, other left-wing forces and the revolutionary Peronista movement.

T. Matsumoto, member of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee and editor in chief of DZENEY ("Vanguard"), theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee:

Based on the resolutions of the 17th Party Congress, which was held in November 1985, and which singled out two main tasks of international solidarity: the prevention of nuclear war and a total ban on and elimination of nuclear weapons and the defense of the right of nations to self-determination, we are actively discussing these problems in our journal. In accordance with the principles of scientific socialism, we are energetically substantiating the significance of the difficult struggle which is being waged today on a universal scale between progressive and reactionary forces on these two central topics and are explaining the variety of problems created by virtue of this struggle.

Our party congress launched a very serious global appeal: to rally within a single international antinuclear front for lifting the threat of a worldwide nuclear war and the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

Ever since nuclear weapons appeared in the world, these real "instruments of the devil," the concept of the "power of restraint," has dominated the international arena. Its prerequisite was the growth of the power of nuclear weapons. To this day numerous forces support this concept.

After the Reykjavik meeting, the Reagan administration casuistically declared that "SDI is the key to a nuclear-free world." Essentially, it would like to conceal behind this slogan the nuclear arms race and postpone the elimination of nuclear weapons. Japan's Prime Minister Nakasone, who also engages in such rhetoric, claiming that it is precisely the nuclear arms race that will lead to nuclear disarmament, is meanwhile continuing to assist this race by agreeing on the participation of the country in the SDI program. The key to the radical solution of this situation is the further strengthening and development of the movement of the peoples of different countries, including the American people, for the total banning and elimination of nuclear weapons and preventing the spreading of the nuclear arms race to outer space and imposing a total ban on nuclear tests. We must rally the entire world and isolate the forces which are clinging to nuclear weapons. This is one of the ways on the basis of which the broad public movement of the peoples of the world will be able to rally within a single international antinuclear front.

A persistent struggle has developed in our country in the course of which specific tasks and demands are being formulated: banning the deployment of American military aircraft and ships with nuclear power; preventing the docking in our ports of ships equipped with nuclear missiles; closing down nuclear bases and means of communications and refusing to participate in the SDI. Starting with 1955, after surmounting various difficulties, a movement for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons has been systematically developing in Japan, which gives priority to the prevention of nuclear war and imposing a total ban on nuclear weapons, combining it with aid to the victims of nuclear bombs.

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal "Down With Nuclear Weapons!," addressed to the peoples of the entire world, was adopted in February 1985. It defined the elimination of nuclear weapons as "the most important prime task on which the existence of mankind depends." In Japan 23 million people signed this appeal.

The campaign for the collection of signatures for or in support of the appeal spread to 147 countries throughout the world.

The struggle against nuclear weapons is, naturally, related to the anti-imperialist struggle in the sense that it weakens the nuclear threat. Nevertheless, the united antinuclear international front is broader than the realm of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Let us recall the historical experience gained in the activities of the international united antifascist front in which, surmounting ideological differences, a variety of social forces rallied in the joint struggle against fascism and point out Lenin's approach to the 1922 Genoa Conference, in the course of which the land of the soviets called for a total ban on poison gas as the most barbaric weapon. The speaker emphasized that today we must demand the soonest possible conclusion and implementation of agreements on imposing a total ban on and eliminating nuclear weapons which are incomparably worse than poison gas given their specific and extremely barbaric and criminal nature.

If priority is given, as a main urgent objective, to the liquidation of nuclear weapons in international politics and in the world peace movement, combined with other demands aimed at the prevention of nuclear war, I am confident that the real possibility exists of rallying the broadest possible forces within a single international antinuclear front.

F. Kerim, editor in chief of AL-NAHJ ("The Way"), collective organ of communist and worker parties of Arab countries:

At the present turning point, the revolutionary struggle presents Marxist-Leninist theory with new tasks. The main and universal historical task is, unquestionably, that of safeguarding peace the world over. In this case the socialist countries play a vanguard role. World socialism is becoming increasingly strong and united in the struggle against reactionary forces. Plans for building the new society are being successfully implemented and creating even more favorable conditions for successfully opposing the imperialist circles who are trying to unleash a nuclear war.

The speaker emphasized that the 27th CPSU Congress and its innovative approaches and solutions had a tremendous influence on the world communist movement and its struggle against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

The national liberation movement in the Arab countries, the speaker noted, is developing under the conditions of a confrontation with international and local reaction. The desire of the peoples for economic and social progress and independence triggered the fierce resistance of imperialism which is trying to impose upon them a fierce diktat, using above all its strike force: Zionist Israel. The Arab area has today become a testing ground for all forms of neocolonialism, ranging from the "open door" policy to provoking discord and regional armed conflicts and creating in proimperialist groups in some countries. Of late neocolonialism has made overt use of military power by launching an armed aggression not only against Lebanon but also against Libya, and threatening Syria. The lack of unity in the ranks of the Arab national

liberation movements is being skillfully exploited by imperialism which, in order to implement its sinister objectives, is relying on the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the parasitical and mercantile strata and the vestiges of feudalism, tying their interests to those of the multinational monopolies.

The communist and worker parties play an important role within the Arab liberation movement. Relying on the working class, they are going into the masses, mobilizing them in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and for freedom and democracy. In this struggle we need the coordinated efforts of the different revolutionary detachments which as a rule must function without or under severely limited democratic freedoms. Most of our countries are deliberately trying to isolate the communists from the people's masses, which occasionally leads in our movement to the faulty idea of a lowered revolutionary potential in the area.

Of late joint activities by communist and worker parties in the Arab countries have indicated a specific development; their interaction has broadened, not least in the area of the theoretical interpretation of new trends in the Arab world. This is yielding positive results and does not prevent in the least each party from remaining independent and sovereign in its decisions and actions.

The new situation in the world requires innovative explanations. We must also study the appearance in a number of Arab countries of different political and religious groups which have enhanced their activities and are having a certain influence on the popular masses. This sets to the communists the task of strengthening unity within their ranks, without which it would be difficult to implement our main objective and, above all, actively to support the struggle waged by the people of Palestine for the creation of a Palestinian independent state. We must increase our efforts to put an end to the Iran-Iraq military conflict and intensify our unified actions for the liberation of Arab territories occupied by Israel.

The peace movement in Europe, F. Kerim said, is encompassing the broadest possible population strata. Such a movement is beginning to grow in the Arab countries as well. Under these circumstances it is important to create, above all, everywhere the type of climate in which strengthening the unity of action between communists and their allies becomes possible.

E. Pahad, editor, AFRICAN COMMUNIST, theoretical organ of the South African Communist Party:

The struggle against racism and apartheid is one of the most important tasks in our time. In South Africa members of all races are rallying in this struggle in a united front. The South African Communist Party--the oldest on the continent--has gained comprehensive experience in the struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialism and national oppression. It is relying in its activities on the rich experience of the Russian revolutionary movement and V.I. Lenin's works, which sum up this experience.

In the development of a mass resistance movement in South Africa, of unparalleled scope and depth, alternate structures of a people's system have

begun to take shape: street and district committees, defense committees and so-called people's courts. The question of reorganizing the resistance movement, headed by the African National Congress, into real people's authorities is on the agenda. In this connection, we must solve not only important political but also major theoretical problems which must be interpreted. Extensive debates are taking place within the movement on problems related to the nature, form and content of a people's war and the possibility of its growth into an armed uprising.

E. Pahad further discussed a number of theoretical and political problems of the development of the revolutionary movement in South Africa. The racist regime is losing its hold on the situation. This demands of the revolutionary forces to pay particular attention today to problems of defining the stages in the development of the national democratic revolution and a discussion on the type of alliances and interconnections which will develop in the course of the revolution among the different classes and social strata. Broad discussions are needed on an entire range of complex problems which will be facing any future government in a democratic South Africa. Imperialism would like to lead our movement astray, to preserve the old economic system in the country, merely prettying the face of the political superstructure. The revolutionary forces will never agree to this.

The speaker paid great attention to problems of the struggle against anti-Sovietism and anticomunism. Naturally, the USSR is able to defend itself. However, by struggling against anticomunism and anti-Sovietism we are defending above all our own interests and socialist ideals. Under contemporary circumstances our opposition to such phenomena must blend within a single channel. The successes of the anti-imperialist front of struggle within South Africa is inseparable today from that waged against American imperialism and its conspiracies against Cuba and Nicaragua and in the Middle East.

The problem of peace is exceptionally important under contemporary conditions. The 27th Congress ascribed prime attention to it with full justification, directing the effort on problems of the antiwar struggle. Many people in Africa believe that the problems of the struggle for peace are quite remote from their daily needs and that more vital problems with are afflicting the people exist. It is precisely we, the communists, who must show to the people the close link between disarmament, for which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are struggling, and development which is so greatly needed by the liberated countries.

In order succeed in the struggle for peace and disarmament we must ensure, above all, unity within the international communist movement. Our movement is quite varied and each of its detachments is struggling under the specific conditions of its own country and has its own revolutionary experience. All of us, however, are communists and are united by many other things and, above all, the struggle for peace. The stronger our unity becomes the more successful we shall be in rallying the broad antiwar democratic movement.

N. Iribadzhakov, BCP Central Committee member, responsible editor of NOVO VREME ("New Times"), theoretical organ of the BCP Central Committee:

The problem of the dialectics of our revolutionary time and the dialectical link between theory and practice seems basic. Nevertheless, however, we are witnessing cases of the grossest possible neglect of this principle, which has led to all kinds of petty and not so petty failures, distortions and deformations in the communist movement and in the building of socialism.

The most paradoxical feature is that all such negative phenomena appeared under circumstances in which 20th century world history has acquired new experience of tremendous wealth and variety, and when the contemporary revolution in science and technology and its social consequences are not only clearly confirming the substantiated conclusions of Marxism-Leninism but also creating real opportunities for a new powerful thrust in the development and enrichment of our revolutionary doctrine.

The large number of important and new problems of real socialism and the contemporary process, the scientific and technical revolution and its link with the practice of building socialism, international relations, problems of war and peace, ecology, the human factor and other theoretical problems of tremendous importance in sociohistorical practice are still awaiting their timely and truly profound Marxist-Leninist development. This is one of the main contradictions of our time and movement: the major theoretical lag in the interpretation of many new important phenomena behind political and practical requirements. The solution of this contradiction, we believe, is the urgent task of all Marxist theoretical cadres and, above all, the cadres of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

The crucial period we are entering, the speaker noted, calls for a reassessment, for a new approach to realities which we consider customary in terms of form, but which have long changed their content, and for a reinterpretation of the content and framework of concepts which established themselves in the preceding historical period with the help of Marxist-Leninist methodology, based on dialectical materialism and the high accomplishments of contemporary scientific knowledge.

The recent and even the rather distant past of 20 or 30 years ago left us a tangled cluster of vitally important yet still unsolved theoretical problems, obsolete or erroneous methods and forms of practical work or simply theoretical errors and practical deformations. This has resulted in the paradoxical factor that apparently the greatest creative development in Marxist-Leninist social science in the socialist countries and elsewhere has been in specific and applied sectors rather than in the general theoretical foundations of the social sciences, which are the structural features of Marxism-Leninism, such as philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific communism. It is precisely this fact that has enabled the enemies of Marxism-Leninism falsely to claim that it is in a state of mortal crisis.

The crucial period currently experienced by world socialism and the entire international community strictly demands the dynamic enhancement of Marxist-Leninist theory and the fast development of all aspects of our doctrine, the beginning of which was laid with the 27th Leninist Party Congress. This task must be carried out as rapidly and efficiently as possible. Hence the role of our theoretical journals. It is precisely they which play today a leading

role in formulating and stimulating theoretical work on new problems raised by history itself and the role of organizers of bold discussions and daring aspirations of Marxist thought in new areas and to new depths, as yet unknown. It is precisely our theoretical journals which must be the first daringly to oppose and all prejudices and the type of methods of theoretical work and political practices which are incompatible with the fundamental scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, the standards of socialist society and its democratic nature and way of life, and its morality and culture.

Questions and Debates

I. Frolov. In my view, the reports we have heard so far raise very important and topical theoretical and political problems. Let me say a few words on the questions raised in the statements by Comrade E. Pahad (South Africa) and Comrade N. Iribadzhakov (Bulgaria). They affect basic aspects of our doctrine. This applies, above all, to the long-term future of mankind, and to global problems, including ubiquitously establishing social conditions for life worthy of man, and a global ecological situation. Let me add to this all that is related to the new way of thinking and the innovative approach to the realities of the contemporary world both on the broad theoretical level as well as in terms of political thinking. Even the most abstract theoretical problems of man and humanism in our world divided into classes are organically related to topical political problems, such as the struggle against racism, dressed mainly in the disgusting clothing of apartheid, and all varieties of anticomunism mentioned here by E. Pahad.

If I understand Comrade Iribadzhakov accurately, I believe that he expressed the idea that in recent decades Marxist-Leninist science and its structural components have developed extremely poorly or, in any case, weakly compared with applied research. It is difficult to agree with such a general statement, for in recent decades, particularly in recent years, a major upsurge has been noted and, I would even say a tempestuous explosion of fresh theoretical thinking in many of the main areas of Marxist-Leninist theory. I am familiar with a number of such splendid creative works, including some which have come out in Bulgaria.

The fact that in the not entirely creative atmosphere which dominated until recently among our scientific circles, there were extensive manifestations of elements of bookishness and dogmatism, and a certain alienation of the social sciences from the problems of life and new approaches to their solution, which were sometimes stubbornly ignored and were not translated into practical work, is a different matter.

But this is only temporary, for the innovative concepts and ideas formulated at the latest congresses of our fraternal parties, the 27th CPSU Congress above all, did not come out of thin air. They appeared on the basis of a substantial background of new formulations of most topical problems developed within the social sciences.

Nevertheless, practical requirements are substantially outstripping the development of the social sciences. Today we need not only a radical restructuring of the social sciences, as M.S. Gorbachev recently emphasized,

but also a major change in the attitude toward it by society and support of all that is new and progressive in the social sciences. Therefore, while assessing self-critically the rather unfavorable situation prevailing in the social sciences, let us not display excessive negativism. We have forces and a strong scientific background which enable us as of now to assume a more active and aggressive stance in the face of our ideological enemy.

However, the problem of enhancing creative Marxist thinking along the entire front of theoretical research remains urgent. In this connection, I would like to ask Comrade Iribadzhakov the following: How do you conceive of the role of Marxist theoretical journals, such as NOVO VREME, KOMMUNIST or any similar journal in terms of the development of our theory? What type of new forms of discussions, exchange of views and collective debates should we adopt so that, on the basis of collective achievements, strike concentrated blows at anticomunist bourgeois propaganda, which is skillfully and inventively filling the theoretical vacuum existing in urgent problems which, for some reason, we are shyly trying to avoid?

N. Iribadzhakov. Naturally, in our journals problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and all of its components are being energetically developed and a great deal of innovative and fresh works have appeared.

When I spoke of the shortcomings in our theoretical work I too had in mind above all the fact that Marxist research is seriously lagging behind the great opportunities which exist and the urgent requirements formulated by rapidly developing history and the development of science, technology and culture and the global revolutionary process. Let us recall, comrades, the number of years which Lenin spent on his writings, some 3 decades. Naturally, this was an age of great historical change and social cataclysms. A transition was taking place from the premonopoly stage of capitalism to its imperialist phase. A cycle of broad revolutions and bloody wars had spread throughout the world. Finally, the Great October Revolution inaugurated a new age in the life of mankind, the age of transition from capitalism to socialism.

But let us also look at this extremely rich and amazingly varied historical experience of the 60 years since Lenin's death.

What extremely rich data for interpretation and summation were presented to us by history! Have we assessed with adequate depth and comprehensiveness this extremely broad kaleidoscope of great events?

How many amazingly instructive events have either passed us by or were ignored or merely glanced at by us? I am referring to important landmarks in the experience of the revolutionary process of recent decades, the shaping of a qualitatively new civilization, such as world socialism, and the confused problems of the transformation and the ups and downs of the contemporary capitalist production method.

In my view, the lack, until recently, of a purposefulness and comprehensiveness in our theoretical vision of the contemporary world adversely affected the formulation of a strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement. Is it not because of theoretical lack of solution and

of clarity in understanding many most important social problems that, in addition to other reasons, many difficulties and frictions appear in the international communist movement?

As to the second problem, naturally, in addition to the specific objectives of each one of our journals, all of them have a single common task: collectively, hand in hand, through joint efforts to develop the entire communist movement and Marxist-Leninist theory, so that it may reflect in an integral theoretical manner the complex world in which we live and act. The 27th Leninist Party Congress laid the cornerstone for such an integral and innovative concept of social development in the post-Leninist period, by summing up the international accomplishments of Marxist philosophy.

In my view, our task, the task of our journals, is to organize jointly and collectively a permanent global roundtable meeting of creative Marxism, daringly consider within it the most complex and difficult problems, without any prejudice, hearing everything what the Marxists, the best specialists of all countries, think in the area of dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of socialism and capitalism, and the theory of scientific communism. Each one of our journals must be a link in this planetary roundtable Marxist-Leninist meeting which, I believe, will now function on a permanent basis.

This roundtable meeting is a first step in the right direction on the long and very difficult way of raising Marxist science to a level worthy of our teachers.

J. Rodriguez (responsible secretary of ESTUDIOS, journal of the Communist Party of Uruguay). At one point, the old Engels was asked: How was it that Marx and he, two young people, were able to put an end to all previous bourgeois theory of social development and, for the first time in history, sow the seeds of true science? He answered that this took place thanks to dialectical materialism, to which a critical approach to all that is organic. A critical approach is a feature of true science, which Marxism-Leninism is. Critique is not an object to be used sporadically. It is a normal, a permanent feature of the vitality of our theory, of our entire communist movement, a science on which it is based.

Did it not happen, recently, that critique and a critical approach to reality and to concepts which had been formulated a long time ago were replaced by a play of definitions and terminological substitutions? That is what happened.

Today, however, at our roundtable meeting, we can speak of a turning point in the development of Marxism-Leninism of truly historical import. This applies to the 27th CPSU Congress. It was precisely the congress which laid the beginning of a new round in the profound scientific interpretation of the contemporary world and a major stage in the self-knowledge of socialism and, therefore, a critical and self-critical analysis of the entire situation. Thanks to its innovative ideas, this congress became a permanent continuing forum which raised the number of participants to a global level. Our roundtable meeting also is, to some extent, a continuation of the congress.

Even in our distant country across the ocean, the majority of people live under the influence of the attractive and profoundly meaningful yet understandable ideas formulated at the Leninist Party Congress. The influence of its ideas does not stop at the borders of the Soviet Union. They inspire us, Uruguayan communists, as well and call for the dedication of maximal efforts so that in our study of global and national realities we may follow in that same innovative way.

It is entirely legitimate for the Soviet Union, the pioneer of socialism, to be first to formulate an entire set of innovative ideas which, unquestionably, will become a starting point in elevating our theory to a qualitatively new level of maturity.

F. Kerim. In my view, the bottleneck in our theoretical activities is the weak analysis of social, economic and political consequences of the contemporary stage of the scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely this revolution that is the pivot of all transformations in the contemporary world, without the necessary assessment of which it would be difficult to define the basic trends within it. That is precisely why at the 27th CPSU Congress the problems of the NTR became, to a great extent, the starting point for the study of the basic trends and contradictions characteristic of our time. Combining the achievements of the NTR with the advantages of the socialism, as was established by the congress, is also crucial in considering its future development.

However, although we speak a great deal about theory and its enhancement, we frequently forget the dialectical connection which links it with politics, with the political objectives of the proletariat and the communist and worker parties. This must not be forgotten. On the other hand, something which, I believe, is also erroneous is that occasionally, for the sake of political cooperation with nonproletarian forces we conclude alliances at the expense of ideological and theoretical concessions and basic positions which our communist party must hold. Such concessions to political pragmatism are by no means synonymous with the Leninist principle of the primacy of pursuing a principle-minded policy.

R. Staigerwald (editor in chief of the journal MARXISTISCH BLATTER). In connection with the remarks made by Comrade Kerim, let me raise two questions. I too proceed from the primacy of politics in the activities of the party of the working class. However, this primacy should be correlated not with theory but with strategy and tactics. Such problems are as yet to become topics of serious clarifying debates. Have we already totally eliminated cases in which theoretical and ideological activities are subordinated to current practical needs, considering theory only a convenient means of explanation and interpretation of politics?

I therefore believe that it is exceptionally important for our movement to discuss and determine what the primacy of policy means under present circumstances and the way it affects the correlation among ideology, theory and politics, for a scientific policy must always be based on the firm foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and proceed from it.

This is exceptionally relevant under our circumstances. For example, is it worth it, because of the most vital need of creating and strengthening a broad coalition of the forces of peace and reason to postpone, for the sake of a common objective, the struggle against the threat of thermonuclear war and defense of democracy, pushing aside ideological polemics with these forces and engaging in an open comparison of views? Should we forget ideological differences which exist within the camp of our partners in the struggle for a peaceful future of mankind and tactfully explain to them our positions? In this area, in my view, a number of new questions to be considered arise.

Statements

A. Vorku, head of the international department of the journal MESKEREM ("September"), theoretical organ of the Ethiopian Labor Party Central Committee.

Before the revolution of 1974 Ethiopia was a base for imperialism, from which the latter threatened the world and international stability, above all in Africa and the Middle East. Today Ethiopia is closely united with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and with all peace-loving forces in the struggle for peace and social progress on earth.

Our experience, like the experience of all history, teaches us that peace is the main prerequisite for development. Peace and progress meet the objective interests of the Ethiopian people. Aspiration for a just peace is a characteristic feature of our revolution, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence.

The working people the world over have a common enemy--international imperialism. In order successfully to struggle against it, the working people throughout the world must unite on an international scale. The Ethiopian Labor Party is strengthening its ties of friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries, the communist and worker parties the world over, the national liberation movements, and the revolutionary organizations which are fighting for a just society and peace on earth. We see in this meeting in Moscow one more confirmation of the growing interaction among Marxist-Leninist forces the world over.

Ethiopia is doing all it can in support of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist, anticolonial and antiracist struggle, including the one being waged on the African continent. We believe that such a support will assist in the further development of our revolution and strengthen world peace.

The speaker discussed in detail the basic tasks of Ethiopian foreign policy. Our country, he said, is paying particular attention to relations with neighboring countries and to the development of close and mutually profitable cooperation with them. Of late positive processes have been noted in the Horn of Africa. This is very important, he emphasized, for regional conflicts anywhere on earth could threaten world peace unless settled peacefully. Ethiopia's efforts in its relations with neighboring countries and all countries throughout the world are precisely aimed at this.

However, we cannot consider our relations with the United States as healthy. American imperialism and its allies consider the successful march of our revolution a threat to their economic and strategic interests in Africa and the Middle East. That is precisely why a series of attempts were made to suppress our revolution and support is given to the forces of the counterrevolution within the country and abroad, which are acting against new Socialist Ethiopia.

The aggressive imperialist circles make no secret of their hatred of socialism and the liberation movements and are even ready, under some circumstances, to destroy for this reason many millions of people in the flames of a nuclear conflagration. That is why it is quite important today to prove convincingly, on a scientific basis, that imperialism is by its nature a source of war. In order to safeguard peace we must oppose neocolonialist imperialist aspirations and defeat imperialism's "neoglobalist" plans. Above all, an end must be put to the arms race and promote disarmament. With a proper approach, unity and cohesion, the peace-loving forces could achieve detente.

Ethiopia highly values and supports the broad set of peaceful initiatives formulated by the USSR and its program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 as well as the long Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union proved the falseness of the thesis of the "threat from the East," used by imperialism to justify its unrestrained arms race. Our journal MESKEREM is doing everything possible to assist the victory of the forces of peace.

V. Benke, MSZMP Central Committee member, editor and chief of TARSADALMI SEMLE ("Social Survey"), political and theoretical journal of the MSZMP.

The 27th CPSU Congress gave a powerful impetus to a new upsurge in theoretical thinking, the further development of the international communist movement and the intensified cooperation among socialist countries. The realistic and precise study of the situation in the world, which was made at the congress, is inspiring the socialist countries to promote the creative development of the theory and practice of building a new society. It is no accident that it was precisely KOMMUNIST that was the author of the good initiative of inviting representatives of fraternal journals to a joint discussion of topical theoretical and political problems in the spirit of the new style of thinking formulated at the Leninist Party Congress.

The speaker focused on a study of the experience and problems related to the economic reform in Hungary, the purpose of which, in his view, is to coordinate the requirements of a contemporary planned commodity economy with the social values of socialism. Economic management methods were used above all in agriculture. Features such as autonomy, initiative, democracy and collectivism were further developed in the production cooperatives. On the basis of the use of socialist economic management methods, this made it possible to assume a leading position in Europe in this area.

The work which was done led to a substantial upsurge in the entire national economy and positively changed economic management methods. As a result, our

best enterprises became fully competitive with firms in the capitalist world operating on the same scale and in the same areas.

The fast growth of output and its partial updating improved consistency between supply and demand. Trade was developed substantially. Services expanded and became more comprehensive. Here a significant number of artisans are at work. Petty individual enterprise led to certain positive changes in the work of taxi cabs, public catering and some types of repair services.

In discussing negative phenomena related to the development of small-scale enterprise, Benke mentioned the disproportionately high income earned by some citizen's categories.

Naturally, all such problems are in the focal point of attention of our journal and are subjected to comprehensive theoretical and political study both within the systematic and sharp debates which are taking place as well as at roundtable meetings.

The political leadership, she pointed out, must carefully see to it that the struggle against unearned, dishonest or disproportionate income does not convert into restricting the substantiatedly high income which is the result of increased labor productivity, for this could diminish the socially useful efforts of the working people. Full employment is a great gain of socialism. However, this does not mean in the least that in order for the working person to retain his job at the same enterprise we must support unprofitable production. This is a major lesson for the future. Constant improvements in production relations are needed.

Concluding, V. Benke noted that under present-day circumstances of scientific and technical progress, a socialist country acting alone cannot achieve stable economic management results and that the necessary pace of development can be maintained only as being part of the community. It is through CEMA that its participants join in the competition on a global scale. From this viewpoint the suggestion considered at the November CEMA session offer extensive opportunities. The revolutionary renovating force, the upsurge and purposefulness in the life of Soviet society, which has undertaken to implement the strategy of acceleration, formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, met in Hungary with great response and the intention to advance together.

J. Salinas, member of the Communist Party of Chile Central Committee, and chairman of the Central Committee Propaganda Commission (representing the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Chile PRINCIPIOS ("Principles").

We are profoundly inspired by the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which not only mean a sharp turn in the development of socialism in the USSR but are also meeting with a positive response throughout the global communist and worker movements and are inspiring all peace-loving forces.

The irresponsible policy of American imperialism, which threatens peace, is combined with support of the fascist regime of Pinochet, who has declared war on his own people. That is why we deem as our most important contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress to continue to do everything

possible to put and end to the dictatorship, which is one of the supports of U.S. aggressive imperialism.

We share the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress on the decisive and defining role which communists play today in the struggle for revolutionary changes, organically related to progress toward a lasting peace on earth. In this area success is defined above all through the constant critical and self-critical evaluation of the circumstances. In 1950, on the basis of such an analysis an interpretation of previous experience in the struggle by our party, a policy was formulated of preparations for a popular uprising. The people supported this policy, considering it a prerequisite for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship with their own forces. Today the arsenal of their struggle includes the self-defense of the masses from fascist repressions, national protest days, erection of barricades, actions aimed at economic destabilization and sabotage. All of this has helped the people see that the fascist dictatorship is not omnipotent. The creation of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (PFMR) played an important role. Supported by the people, it has achieved substantial successes.

Along with the organization and preparation of the masses for self-defense, together with all the detachments of the people's democratic movement (MDP) our party is continuing to make tremendous efforts to promote unity among all democratic forces in the struggle against tyranny.

The successes which were achieved by the democratic forces caused some difficulties to appear. The right-wing Christian democratic circles and the Democratic Alliance they head, having rejected the idea of mobilizing the masses for the struggle, tend toward an agreement with the Pinochet regime. The actions of the masses proved the possibility of a progressive democratic solution, which greatly worried imperialism and the right-of-center opposition. This concern turned into real fear, after the PFMR made an attempt on the life of the tyrant. Imperialism tore off its mask of "defender of human rights" and intensified its support of Pinochet in order to enable him to carry out, once and for all, the task of destroying our party, something he has been unable to achieve. At the same time, pressure on the right-centrist forces intensified. Imperialism demanded of them totally to exclude the possibility of cooperation with the MDP and to make an agreement with the tyrant. An end can be put to the dictatorship only through the combat mobilization of the people and on the basis of unity among all democratic forces. The communists believe that despite differences existing between the people's democratic and bourgeois democratic opposition, their unity in the face of the common task of overthrowing Pinochet is both possible and necessary. That is why the Chilean communists, both through PRINCIPIOS and other clandestine publications, are persistently calling for more decisive actions against the fascist dictatorship through the universal mobilization of the masses and the utilization of all forms of struggle, including by the force of arms, which is fully justified under the conditions of a tyranny.

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QUALITY IS THE MAIN CONCERN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 24-28

[Article by Boris Sergeyevich Migachev, chief of the Main Administration of the State Inspection of Output, USSR Gosstandart, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] No single major production or social problem in our national economy can be solved without a radical improvement of the situation involving quality. This means that the success of the decisive course toward the acceleration of scientific and technical progress depends on the efficiency of steps which ensure high production quality.

The decisive feature in this case is that of the efficient restructuring of the economic mechanism, which must inevitably punish, both materially and morally, enterprises which allow rejects in production and fall behind in the struggle for attaining high global scientific and technical positions. In this restructuring, aimed at drastically upgrading production quality and work, comprehensive actions are necessary, using all available means: economic, administrative and education. Otherwise not even the immediate levels stipulated in the state plan for the economic and social development of the country for this year will be reached: in machine building output, the share of basic commodities consistent with global standards must be increased by a factor of 1.6. During the 5-year period the share of such output will be increasing and by the end of the period, according to the plan, will reach 80-95 percent for basic varieties and 100 percent for all newly developed items.

Upgrading production quality is a problem which demands an urgent solution. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Steps Radically to Improve the Quality of Output," based on the experience acquired by frontranking enterprises, associations, oblasts and republics, provides an integral program for work in this area. It presumes mastery by all managers, from minister to foreman, of contemporary requirements concerning the development and production of high-quality goods; it earmarks ways of specific participation by the working people in comprehensively upgrading the level of output and doing their jobs.

The most important among the measures stipulated in the decree, a measure which was discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Conference (November 1986),

is the creation of a special nondepartmental control authority--state inspection of the output of industrial associations and enterprises under the jurisdiction of the main administration of the USSR Gosstandart.

The duties of the state inspection system are quite broad. The most important is extradepartmental control over the quality of output at any stage in its manufacturing. The purpose of such inspection is to ensure the observance of state standards and production specifications and strictly to supervise the implementation of measures aimed at improving production quality and state decisions pertaining to this area, and participating in state commodity certification.

The head of the state inspection system has been given the right to reject goods violating parameters set by the specifications or to prevent their dispatching. Naturally, this is a strict measure which, however, is extremely necessary today. It absolutely prevents the production of defective goods.

In this connection, the following question naturally arises: What will be the role of technical control under such circumstances? This must be made clear. The introduction of state control does not mean the elimination of the OTK; it neither duplicates nor is it subordinate to it. The OTK is a plant service intrinsically related to production. It is part of the technological process. Those who believe that the state inspection official will be standing behind the back of the OTK controller are wrong. In terms of size, the state inspection is much smaller than the OTK service. Its approach to the work is different: it has its own plans and specific control systems for each enterprise. The main feature in its activities is its inspection of finished goods and controlling the "sensitive spots" within the technological process.

State inspection was introduced at the beginning of 1987 at 1,500 industrial enterprises. It will be supervising the basic national economic output. It is important to note that the new inspection procedure was already tested earlier at 19 enterprises and proved its high efficiency. For example, the situation with the production of color television sets at the Plant imeni V.I. Lenin in Gorkiy sharply changed for the better; the number of claims filed against the Chekhov Power Machine Building Plant dropped by a factor of 4; the collective of the Smolensk Refrigerators Plant began to work more efficiently. Such examples could be extended. What is particularly important, however, is that state inspection clearly highlighted problems of subjective and objective nature, which must be immediately solved in order to upgrade production quality.

State inspection even for a familiar commodity such as KamAZ automobiles was introduced after extensive preparations by the technical services of the plant; it immediately faced the production process with a number of problems. Above all, major violations of the technological process came to light, caused by shortcomings in organization and discipline. Therefore, state inspection exposed previously "unnoticed" "ills." A great deal of other features were detected at the same time, including insufficient control-measuring equipment, and weaknesses in the work of the technical control service. Previously there had been "no time" to deal with such matters, which led to low quality and defective goods.

A great deal has been accomplished in organizing state inspection activities. The experience of the 19 enterprises was thoroughly studied. Cadres were appointed and a regulation on state inspection and rules governing such work and other legal documents was drafted. Design-technological documentation was studied from the viewpoint of state standards; technological processes, equipment and instruments were checked in accordance with technical specifications. The final test, however, is still ahead.

How is state inspection organized? It consists of two parts. The first is the direct acceptance of commodities on the basis of corresponding state standards, technical specifications and other documents. This consistency must be confirmed through tests similar to the real conditions under which the items will be used. The second is controlling the activities of the enterprise regarding quality. It would be hard to say which is the more important. Obviously, however, our efforts will be rated on the basis of any tangible positive changes in the production of high-quality items.

The most important structural part of our activities is incoming control of all items which received by the enterprise, followed by design and technological documentation control, checking the adequacy of the actual technological process, and supervising the experimental base, direct tests, metrological support and OTK activities.

In other words, state inspection is not restricted to checking finished products but uses the results of such checks in correcting faults wherever they appear in the course of the production process. From the viewpoint of the science of management, the question of having a quality control system with feedback could be raised. Its purpose is for the features of the items included in the design to be not only consistent with the experimental prototype or, let us say, the first batch, but also for the entire output, from start to finish of the production process. Naturally, changes in the course of production are inevitable. However, they are strictly controlled in such a way as to prevent any worsening of the initial quality. From the social viewpoint, this means that the inspectors must not simply passively note the appearance of defective goods and, if necessary, stop production but actively interfere in the process, make corrections and see to it that reasons for defects are eliminated.

How is quality control based on feedback to be organized?

Incoming control checks the consistency between the legal documents and all purchased items. Should an inconsistency be detected, the state inspectors (together with the OTK), as the direct representatives of the state, file a claim against the supplier. If the supplier has state inspectors, they must take immediate steps to halt the production of defective goods. Should the supplier have no such authorities, this function must be performed by territorial units of the other subdivision of the USSR Gosstandart, Gosnadzor. The latter sets up a special acceptance system for that enterprise (essentially this means state inspection by Gosnadzor officials), which will operate for as long as the desired quality has not been attained.

The next step is assessing design documentation of enterprises, and their consistency with legal documents and, above all, state standards and, if necessary, considering the revision of such documents. The technological documentation is then inspected. It must be strictly consistent with designs, for all technological solutions stem from design (practical experience and investigations, however, have proved that in fact this requirement was observed in the case of no more than 60 to 70 percent of all documents). As to the technological process itself, the main feature in state inspection is ensuring its complete consistency with existing documentation. The last three control stages determine the level observance of technological discipline.

By actively interfering in problems of the quality of the documents and technological processes, state inspection thus forces the enterprises to make the production process consistent with socially sanctioned technological standards and regulations.

By using the term "forces" we wish to emphasize the unconditional nature of state inspection orders. This does not mean at all that a state of confrontation appears in advance between the enterprises and the state inspectors. Conversely, it is a question of helping the enterprise to detect vulnerable spots, bring order in the work of the performer and supplier, objectively assess the condition of the equipment, etc. On the other hand, it would be naive to think that such work will entail no losses. Thus, the introduction of state inspection at the Moskva Furniture Association resulted in wage losses of some workers of as much as 60 rubles monthly. However, the association was able to survive the difficulties and, led by the party organization, so did the collective. Soon afterwards the work resumed its normal pace.

The experimental and testing facilities of an enterprise are a major point of attention of state inspection. Its technical standards must be able objectively to confirm that the stipulations of the standard-technical documentation relative to finished items have been observed.

Unfortunately, at industrial enterprises, as a rule, such facilities are weak or frequently entirely lacking. In the latter case there is essentially no confirmation that the technical specifications for an item, as stipulated in the regulations, have been met. The quality of output is judged by eye. The actual parameters of the items are determined not at the enterprise but only in the course of their use, which means that the degree of reliability, power consumption and amount of servicing are all features which the consumer is forced to establish through his own experience. The actual features of an item are established not during the production process but through its practical use. This frequently proves to be exceptionally costly, for the fact that the quality of a new item is out of step with production costs becomes obvious far too late. That is why state inspection is not simply a system for preventing the production of defective goods. It must apply to all parts of the technological process and all aspects of production and develop the proper steps to influence them, thus preventing any loss of quality.

One of the functions of state inspection is checking the measuring devices used in production. The indications are that our industry is obviously short

of modern measuring devices. There are virtually no automatic measuring instruments as part of the technological process. This hinders the evaluation of quality, requires more manual labor at the various testing facilities, etc.

Such extensive participation in the production activities of enterprises, as planned and implemented today, leads to the following question: Is state inspection a permanent measure? Today, when we are only acquiring experience, all that we can say is that it is a long-term measure taken for understandable reasons. One cannot instantaneously, somehow miraculously, attain global production standards. A series of consecutive steps must be taken, such as enhancing discipline and organization, upgrading technical standards and converting to new technologies. State inspection must, above all, teach us to work within the framework of current requirements. It is only then, by enhancing such requirements, that we can make real progress toward global quality standards.

It would be erroneous, therefore, to consider state inspection as simply yet another type of control, added to many others. It is an essentially new quality control element on the governmental level, under the conditions of the improvements taking place in centralized planning and allocation of output. In this context let us emphasize that by forcing the enterprises to produce commodities meeting technical specifications, state inspection helps to implement contractual obligations regarding quality and variety. State inspection does not interfere in the requirements which the customer sets to the producer but checks that the stipulations set by the state in the guise of standards have been observed, thus efficiently protecting consumer interests. All of this proves that state inspection does not replace or duplicate all functions of the economic mechanism aimed at increasing the influence of the consumer on the producer. In this connection, the tasks of developing and perfecting the overall management system do not become any less relevant.

Today state inspection is used in a considerable number of enterprises but by no means in all. This means that initially a great deal of its work will be experimental and will have to be tested through practical experience. Achieving a significantly positive result in state inspection work will provide us with a foundation for increasing the number of economic units in which it is applied, above all by extending it to "clusters" of enterprises which maintain close production interrelationships.

Let us take the example of automobile manufacturing. Today the entire "cluster" of suppliers of an automotive plant is in the hundreds. In the first stage state inspection control is set up at enterprises which supply the most important types of raw materials and machine units. Later, should it become necessary, it will gradually extend to enterprises delivering less crucial assemblies and machine units, etc.

In considering the problems of state inspection let us say something about the personnel. Taking into consideration the new tasks, the requirements concerning them become particularly strict. High skill combined with party principle-mindedness and great moral responsibility must become the main qualities of the personnel of our agencies, for the decisions made by state

inspection personnel will greatly determine the fate of an entire collective. Under current economic management rules blocking the acceptance of an item immediately affects the economic situation of the enterprise, its funds and the material well-being of every individual. It is obvious that the skill, professional knowledge and moral firmness of state inspection personnel must be quite high, such as to prevent any incompetent decision.

The state inspectors must not forget even for a minute that they are protecting the interests of the state, of our entire society. Even the slightest concession in matters of principle and neglect of official duty or effort to compromise with the misunderstood interest of the collective or the enterprise would make a person unsuitable as a state inspector. The decisions of state inspectors must be thoroughly weighed and profoundly substantiated and not formal. This means that, depending on specific circumstances, a variety of measures could be applied, ranging from banning acceptance to demand to correct a minor fault. In each case this must be strictly consistent with the objective results of the inspection.

However great a part state inspection may play in future intensive efforts aimed at drastically upgrading production quality, we must not forget that the steady improvement in standards will require a comprehensive approach, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. Experience in this area exists in the country. Suffice it to recall the Latvian Quality-90 Republic Comprehensive Program and other similar programs developed in Moscow, Belorussia, in Leningrad, Tula and Ulyanov Oblasts, etc. Work on such programs is not becoming any less important and must be continued.

State inspection means that a major step has been taken toward the practical implementation of the tasks formulated at the 27th Congress of radically improving production quality and raising consumer quality to the highest world standards. Our most important task is energetically to use the new opportunities offered with centralized control of the activities of all national economic units aimed at achieving high end results.

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SOCIAL VECTOR OF ACCELERATION; KOMMUNIST ROUNDTABLE MEETING AT THE IZHORSKIY ZAVOD PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 29-39

[Continued from KOMMUNIST No 18, 1986]

[Text] Scientists and Production: Composition of Forces

Ye.S. Guzhov, turner, shop No 32:

The Intensification-90 Leningrad Comprehensive Program presumes, among its basic objectives, a decisive rejection of the use of obsolete equipment and, respectively, a conversion to maximally efficient highly automated machine tools. As someone directly involved in such processes, let me emphasize that the new equipment we are receiving demands the particular attention of anyone who, one way or another, is involved in its manufacturing, tune-up and servicing. What is the basis for this demand? Above all, the fact that machine tools with numerical program control could be truly efficient only if they are "built-in" in well-prepared and specially amended production system. Otherwise electronic equipment may turn into an expensive but overall useless toy. Our shop began actively to receive ChPU machine tools starting with the end of 1984. Today I can share with the participants of the roundtable meetings some conclusions and observations on the practical use of the new equipment.

Let me begin with installation and tuning. The first batch of the new machine tools was installed for us by the Energomashremnaladka Organization, which is totally independent of the plant. Its people worked slowly, and faultily. Understandably, all of this affected the pace and quality of our own labor for here and there we had to clean up after the installers who vanished. Why had they worked so poorly? Naturally, because they were not truly interested in high results. Almost immediately after the "contract" specialists, it was our own Izhorskiy Zavod engineers and workers who undertook the start-up operations of the new equipment. Immediately we felt their interested and firm approach: the work went well, the machine tools came out of the hands of our boys ready for work and all operational specifications were met.

The simple conclusion is the following: we must reconsider the present complex, disparate I would say, system of purchasing, tuning and starting up

ChPU equipment. The only principle which should be operational here is the following: direct economic interest in having the machine tools ready to start work as soon and as well as possible. Yet what happens is this: the production workers are sweating while the numerous offices which were set up to provide plant services are taking it easy. Is this fair?

Eventually, the machine tool is installed and tuned up. What happens after that, when the operator presses a knob? Attachments, riggings are needed. Yet it is precisely they that are frequently in short supply. The new machine tools, which sometimes bear the Emblem of Quality come with major unfinished parts. For example, the micrometer, which is a main assembly of a ChPU machine tool, is improperly protected from emulsion and other environmental effects, for which reason it frequently breaks down. Yet, side by side with a domestically made machine tool, we have in our shop a machine tool made in West Germany. Its design is far superior. Even the "company" emulsion is planned, something which would be useful for our chemical industry to learn. What about technological charts? In our case they come in thick volumes in which one can get lost. Imported equipment comes with not a single unnecessary word. Everything is clear and simple. Today setting labor norms for ChPU machine-tools is done on a very approximate basis and, sometimes, faultily.

I am mentioning such different problems for the sole purpose of emphasizing the need for a more skillful and thoughtful management of scientific and technical progress. In our view, sometimes it is as though it is left to its own devices, based on the principle of "let us begin and then we shall see." Today this type of "approach" is quite costly. We see a lack of scientific thinking. For quite some time our plant has not been visited by scientists who would be interested in our work and concerns. Is there no work for machine-building theoreticians, economists and specialists in production organization at a large plant? I am confident that many of today's "tangles" could be if not untangled at least improved through joint efforts.

Yu.V. Sobolev, deputy general director of the Association for Metallurgy, candidate of technical sciences:

It seems to me that there will always be a certain barrier separating a scientific idea from its specific embodiment. What causes it and what it consists of are two different matters. It is natural for real, objective difficulties to exist in converting a thought into a practical accomplishment. However, if accumulations of obsolete organizational forms, traditions and approaches, dictated by the unwillingness or inability of some people to reject such a "legacy" stand on the way of progressive scientific and technical thinking, attention should be focused precisely on specific individuals and their views. We are discussing here a most important problem of the present stage in the country's development. If serious and mature workers, such as Igor Nikolayevich Semenov and Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Guzhov are virtually unanimous in mentioning shortcomings in scientific support for work places, it means that the problem exists and that it must concern us. A very great deal here is dictated by the struggle between the new and the old in planning and management. Let me prove this with the example of a very important project both for Izhorskij Zavod and others--the "5000" mill.

Considering its features, the "5000" mill complex, which is being built at the association, will remain a one-of-a-kind piece of equipment over the next decade. For that reason virtually all economic sectors will become our customers. They will obviously have their own specifications concerning the quality of the sheets and plates so that the goods made of such metal surpass world standards. Mills comparable to ours do exist abroad. However, they are quite narrowly specialized both in terms of steel grades and sizes. The variety of output of the Izhorskiy Zavod mill, which will include a number of grades of steel and alloys for a number of different purposes will require a large number of one-of-a-kind technological equipment which must be flexibly restructured so that rolled metal items for various purposes may be produced in relatively small batches.

In their efforts to improve their work, together with us, clients, designers and manufacturers of equipment are try to apply as extensively as possible the latest advances of basic, sectorial and plant science. For example, for a number of years we have maintained practical creative relations with the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. This, however, completes the "list" of fruitful contacts between the plant and academic institutes. An especially bad situation exists in terms of basic developments of the theory of management. Yet the "5000" mill is a complex project whose management system should guarantee the efficient work of such an expensive unique piece of equipment and the high quality of finished goods.

Why is it that practical questions are not being answered by people working in basic science? I believe that this is the full manifestation of the long alienation of most academic institutes from production problems, from the nutritive environment which saturates and enriches science. Naturally, enrichment with scientific ideas and practical experience is a reciprocal process. However, in order to make it stable and reliable, contacts must be established and strong organizational ties developed. It is precisely they that are scarce and even those which exist are based on the brittle foundations of personal relations among the heads of, shall we say, an institute and a plant or a shop and a laboratory. What is the result of the lack of economic, of organizational mechanisms of interaction between basic science and production? Directives on the development of a management system for the "5000" mill were issued to a group of sectorial institutes. Because of their specialization, however, they can provide us only with local systems which do not ensure the efficient work of the entire complex. Understandably, this is an isolated example which, however, in our case quite clearly describes the state of relations between plants and academic institutes.

The study of specialized publications shows that in the 1930s and 1940s people in our country were well-aware of the fact that metallurgy is the base of industry. To this day as well machine building is known as the core of scientific and technical progress and we know that the type of metal which will be used in machine building will determine reliability. Today, however, we note a certain impoverishment of science in the area of metallurgy. It is as though our problems have been lost among technologies of inorganic materials in the projects of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Yet there were times when the academy employed brilliant metallurgical scientists, such as A.A. Baykov and I.P. Bardin, who not only conducted basic research but also

trained students. In our view, we should not wait for prestigious scientists to show up in metallurgy in order to enhance theoretical and research activities. The social instruction and vital needs of industry are what should dictate steps aimed at increasing the attention which the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium should pay to metallurgy.

N.M. Monakhov, deputy general director, Association for Capital Construction:

Yuriy Vasilyevich Sobolev noted essential aspects of the current "science-production" system. In turn, I would like to describe briefly the practical results of the lack of reliability in relations among partners in such a complex target as the development of the "5000" mill. Today we describe this project with a great deal of superlatives. Generally speaking, this is right. However, it is right only to the extent to which the mill will be a technologically complete entity in the technological chain of "preparation of materials-steel smelting-rolled metal-thermoprocessing." For the time being, we do not have such an integral system, for which reason all the mill is contributing to the association is a loss. Everyone knows this. Representatives of enterprises, institutes and ministries participating in the creation of the mill have repeatedly visited us and expressed their readiness to increase their cooperation. However, such visits have come to an end and much more objective factors are becoming operative. Specifically, this includes the still unsurmounted departmental lack of coordination, which makes itself be felt whenever the question of the priority of a specific assignment arises.

For example, the question of supplying the association's metallurgical production facility with metallized pellets, electrodes for the furnaces, crushed ferroalloys and special refractory materials for processing outside the furnaces is taking the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy years to solve and the end is not in sight. Equipment for preparing the batches, manufactured by Minstankoprom enterprises, is inconsistent with contemporary requirements in terms of the level of mechanization and productivity. Our attempts somehow to influence the ministry have failed. The Minavtoprom is not solving the question of designing and manufacturing self-propelling heavy trucks for hauling the batches....

There are even stronger means of "reacting" to annoying requests submitted by the Izhorskiy Zavod people. For example, the cards for designing and manufacturing an automated control system for the "steel-rolled metal" manufacturing processes we developed were sent back by the Minpribor without any coordination having been reached. Yet all of these sectors are included in the directives pertaining to the Izhorskiy Zavod partners in connection with the creation of the "5000" mill! Naturally, we have turned to the USSR Gosplan for help. Most frequently, the advice we receive is the following: try to do it yourselves. It is true that our enterprise is broadly specialized and its collective can do anything. However, as this feature is emphasized, the enterprise should not be an autarchic system able to produce anything from nails to electronic equipment!

Recently a good example was set: we were able to enhance the human factor and promote unity in the efforts of many participants in solving a major problem.

I am referring to the building of the Sayano-Shushen GES. The coordination council in charge of the implementation of the cooperation contracts was situation in Leningrad. It could be worth it perhaps to organize something similar in the building of the "5000" mill. In turn, the Izhorskiy Zavod personnel would display in this case maximal persistence and inventiveness.

V.V. Simakov, member of the USSR Gosplan Collegium, chief of the consolidated science and technology department, candidate of technical sciences:

Unquestionably, the most important task now is to accelerate the application of the achievements of science and technology in production and to eliminate interdepartmental barriers. What is the USSR Gosplan doing in this case? We are currently drafting a plan for the development of science and technology in close contact with the head organizations working in the priority areas. This work involves the participation of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Minvuz and other ministries and departments. This approach enables us to concentrate resources and to direct the initiative of the collective toward the fast mastery of new generations of equipment, technology and materials, consistent with world standards.

The new approach for the formulation and coordination of technical documentation, which became effective as of 1 February 1986, expands the rights of enterprise designers and simplifies the procedures for processing technical documentation. The experience of the Ivanovo machine-tool builders, who are using the system of parallel development and preparation for the production process, enables us substantially to shorten the cycle in the use of new equipment.

The economic mechanism, oriented toward the intensification of socialist self-government and increasing responsibility for end socioeconomic results, has been assigned a special role in the restructuring. We shall try to disseminate throughout the country's national economy the initiative-minded and energetic utilization of existing possibilities and improvements in the wages of engineering and technical personnel of the Izhorskiy Zavod Association, in the course of the engineering experiment, as well as the steps you have suggested for its development.

Increasing exports is, in the final account, the most objective criterion of meeting global technical standards. That is why exercising the autonomy rights granted to the Izhorskiy Zavod collective in developing foreign economic relations and scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries is ascribed great importance. I believe that this opportunity will be highly beneficial.

Yesterday we visited the target projects and talked with the association's general director. What are our main impressions? It is difficult to disagree with the plant personnel to the effect that the solution of the problems is impossible without the thrifty and efficient utilization of the scientific potential of the association, the region and the country's scientific forces. The unique "5000" mill will reach its full potential only if it is equipped with an automated control system reacting to external influences and self-

diagnosis equipment. Its "head" must be a continuous casting complex. The "tail," which will include automated control, cutting and cleaning the rolled metal pieces, will ensure high economic efficiency and quality of output. A number of problems and difficulties exist in this area. Together, we shall surmount them.

Let me also discuss some features mentioned by Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Guzhov which, I believe, offer substantial opportunities for organizing the work and technology in the use of machine-tools with programmed control. This applies, first of all, to poorly drafted technological documentation. Second, the scarcity of special tools for cutting hard steels. Third, the level of preparation and storage of software, which is substantially behind the needs of a modern production facility. It is precisely these problems, which arose 10 to 15 years ago, that have been mentioned by a number of representatives of the plant participating in our roundtable meeting. The natural question is the following: Could the equipment and technology created today by designers, technologists and production organizers turn into a heavy burden by 1990?

Let us consider some economic ratios. Today problems of intensifying metal processing by cutting were discussed extensively and accurately. However, the machine processing accounts for no more than some 16 percent of overall labor intensiveness. Meanwhile, in machine building and metal processing the share of manual labor exceeds 30 percent. Unfortunately, no radical suggestions to reduce it have been heard. Yet it is precisely hard, routine and unproductive labor that fetters the creative initiative of labor collectives.

The new generations of equipment also ensure a sharp increase in the volume of assembly and control-measuring operations which, as of now, have reached 23-40 percent. Under these circumstances only well-planned and comprehensive automation and use of electronics in the entire production process can radically influence the reliability and quality of output.

I.M. Makarov, USSR deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

Some of the key, the decisive aspects in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are cadre training, upbringing and assignment. Neither higher nor secondary specialized schools hear any complaints as they regularly send out their graduates to production and scientific research establishments. Naturally, however, we clearly realize that the harshest complaints are those of life and the lagging in many areas of science and technology. The CPSU Central Committee draft reorganization of the higher and secondary specialized schools enumerates the main areas of our work. Let me share some considerations on what the ministry is planning in order to implement our assignment. Before that, let me say a few words on the sources of this situation which has developed in the area of training specialists who graduate from VUZs and technical schools. Like all industrial sectors, we were carried away by the gross-output approach to specialist training. While satisfying the needs of the economic sectors in terms of quantity, we greatly ignored quality. As a result, today the country is graduating more than triple the number of engineers than, shall we say, the United States. This correlation, however, is not reflected in the least in the indicator of labor productivity.

A survey of the skills of technical VUZ graduates was recently made in Leningrad. More than 100 Leningrad design engineers were rated on the basis of 18 criteria. The result? Only one out of four of this group proved to be trained a level required in modern production. In a large plant design bureau, for instance, we established that only 20 percent of designers were able to design a very simple part without help. Only 10 percent were able to make blueprints for a complex part of design a simple assembly; 5 percent were able to design a complex assembly or a simple machine. And only two designers in the group could supervise the designing of more or less original machines. Therefore, only one-fifth of the average personnel of a design bureau can operate independently and on a professional level. Unquestionably, such indicators cannot fail to concern us. How can we surmount this situation?

A basic feature in upgrading the quality of specialist training is bringing higher schools closer to the production process. What does this mean, specifically? The practical experience of leading VUZs, such as Moscow and Leningrad universities, the Moscow Physical and Technical Institute, the Moscow Engineering-Physics Institute, the MVTU imeni Bauman and others has indicated that it is not only necessary but also entirely possible to abandon obsolete methods of training specialists "in general;" we must firmly coordinate the requirements of industrial enterprises, scientific research institutes and design bureaus, on the one hand, and curriculums, on the other. The training of students in the leading VUZs is taking place today in accordance with the so-called intensive target training system, on the basis of close contacts with the USSR Academy of Sciences, industry and research and design organizations. In training we try to make more active use of computers and management systems. This enables us to direct the students promptly toward long-term and entirely specific assignments of enterprises and sectors. This is achieved, above all, by teaching new disciplines, providing the necessary material and technical training facilities and requiring practical training where the future specialists will be assigned, and demanding realistic course and diploma design projects.

Yes, practical experience has irrefutably proved that combining higher education with production and science is the base for further improvements in the quality of training of highly skilled engineering cadres. About 1,000 branches of specialized departments and more than 300 training, science and production complexes and associations have been set up currently in VUZs with the facilities of enterprises, design bureaus and scientific research institutes. Some positive results have already been achieved. Let us take the example of the Moscow Machine-Tool Manufacturing Institute, which has organized the so-called modular training of cadres for priority and reconstructed production facilities. A good example in the new style of work is that of the scientific-teaching collective of the Leningrad Technological Institute imeni Lensovet, based on the idea of the self-organization of student training work, which enhances the responsibility of the future specialists for its results.

The ministry is planning organizationally to strengthen the functional ties between higher schools and industry. To this effect the share of enrollment in full-day training will be increased by the end of the 5-year plan, compared

with the present 15-20 percent, to at least 60 percent. Target training will have clearly established legal and economic aspects.

Here, at Izhorskii Zavod, all of us have felt particularly sharply the need to enhance basic research and to secure our production potential with reliable long-term development possibilities. What are the reserves of the higher school in this area? We believe that improving its structural efficiency is an extremely important factor in the enhancement of VUZ scientific work. It is a question, above all, of establishing a proper correlation between basic research and applied experimental-design development. At the present time the respective outlays account for 15, 70 and 15 percent of the overall volume of outlays. We believe that by the end of the 5-year plan the correlation will be 20, 50 and 30 percent, respectively, and capital investments in applied activities will be doubled.

We are also planning to double the volume of basic research. Estimates indicate that this can be achieved by increasing budget allocations for scientific work within the limits of the overall funds appropriated for the VUZs. Furthermore, we must increase the volume of basic projects carried out by VUZs directly on requests of sectorial organizations. We believe that such projects could reach 150 million rubles annually instead of 70 million as is currently the case. Naturally, all such redistribution of forces and funds will be subordinated to the main objective: upgrading the quality of training specialists for the national economy.

Excerpts from the Minutes

V.V. Simakov. Question to G.A. Shutkov:

Gennadiy Alekseyevich, the study of this enterprise indicated that both metallurgical and machine building workers urgently need means of automation, electronic equipment above all. The experience of leading Soviet and foreign machine building firms proves the profitability of manufacturing equipment sets--a mechanical part plus programmed control. Do you consider possible for Izhorskii Zavod to master the production of special automated equipment even if only to meet its own requirements?

G.A. Shutkov, general director of the association, Hero of Socialist Labor:

I categorically disagree with the fact that we should undertake to manufacture electronic equipment, in addition to everything else. This means an erosion of the lines between sectors! There is a specialized ministry--the Minpribor--with its own scientific forces and great experience. Why cross its way? In principle, bearing in mind the scientific and industrial potential of Leningrad, we could develop something home-grown and even an element base. This path, however, is much longer and roundabout compared to having specialized sectors and enterprises.

V.V. Simakov:

I do not intend even hypothetically to reject the specialization of Minpribor. It is a question of a significantly more energetic and purposeful integration

among machine building sectors than is currently the case. For example, Minpribor could develop a basic system while related sectors would complement it with special automation and software support. I am confident that, in the final account, this would prove to be faster and more reliable.

G.A. Shutkov:

Vladimir Viktorovich, I would rather avoid abstract considerations. Presently our relations with Minpribor consist of manufacturing control systems for the "5000" mill complex. We are not considering the creation of such complexes every year or even once every 5 years. As to ChPU machine-tools, whose electronic systems are frequently totally unsatisfactory, this is a series output and it is the duty of its manufacturers to meet the necessary quality which would satisfy consumers from the Baltic to Kamchatka. This is not as simple as repairing a newly purchased electric shaver....

I.M. Makarov:

However, I believe that it would not hurt for the Izhorsk representatives periodically to visit Minpribor and inform instrument manufacturers of their ideas and technological characteristics. Furthermore, the Minpribor head-assembly and head tune-up functions must be strengthened.

B.A. Maslenok, deputy chief designer, Energoblok-SKB-II OKB, candidate of technical sciences:

Let us consider this problem in broader terms. In our sector, as a rule 40 to 50 institutes and design bureaus under the jurisdiction of 10 different departments work on developing new equipment. Any major decision which we make today must be approved by several ministers. Let us not even mention the time which such "integration" takes. I believe that we can no longer go on this way and that serious organizational steps must be taken to remove departmental barriers. In all likelihood, this principle will be well tested in aerospace and shipbuilding, in which the general designer will rally all developers and solve all problems. They could also be solved by intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. Such complexes already exist. However, we must increase their number more boldly and grant managers the same rights used in their time by Academician Kurchatov and Korolev, for otherwise red tape could kill an excellent idea.

V.A. Parshin, chief of the technological department, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy Technical Administration:

Both yesterday and today Nikolay Mikhaylovich Monakhov and representatives of metallurgical plant enterprises raised with our ministry several urgent problems of ensuring the availability of technical documentation, equipment and materials for the "5000" mill. I promised and I would like to repeat today that we shall do everything we can to help Izhorskij Zavod. I am confident that our roundtable meeting will become a starting point for truly systematic work, without waiting for any kind of special decisions concerning intersectorial integration.

Engineers and Workers: Potential and Returns

V.P. Berezin, head of a comprehensive brigade, shop No 77, Hero of Socialist Labor:

Our brigade is one of the first comprehensive subdivisions in the plant. In addition to machine-tool operators, it includes crane operators, stackers, repair-fitters and tool sharpeners. We are machining large parts for shafts of hydraulic turbines and rotors of turbogenerators. This equipment is for nuclear, hydraulic and thermoelectric power plants under construction. We usually deliver our output ahead of schedule. The brigade fulfilled its 11th 5-year plan assignments in October 1984.

It may be assumed that the brigade operates under exceptionally good conditions and that all our requirements are always met. This is by no means the case. Sometimes we have to fight hard to procure everything we need to meet our schedule. We know that we cannot violate the schedule and it is no accident that the brigade's annual manufacturing schedule for shafts and rotors must be approved by the association's general director personally.

With a clear project ahead of us, we assessed our possibilities and decided to enter the competition for fulfilling ahead of schedule the assignments of the first 2 years of the 5-year acceleration plan. The task we set ourselves was to ensure an 11 percent growth of labor productivity as planned plus an additional percent. We can achieve this by implementing the comprehensive plan for upgrading labor efficiency. We fulfilled our 1986 assignment in terms of volume of output in September, by Machine Builder's Day. We are hoping that in the future as well everyone will be exceeding his daily shift norm by approximately 25 percent. We shall strive even more firmly to increase the time between machine-tool repairs. We have five machine tools and if we were to increase operational time by no more than 15 percent per tool the results of our one-of-a-kind equipment will become even more substantial. For example, it would enable us to service the machine tools almost on a continual basis, in three shifts. We shall maintain the shift coefficient on the 2.7 level we have already reached.

I do not wish in the least for the participants in our meeting to consider my communication as the regular report of one more frontrunner. I have cited a few figures and facts to emphasize more clearly the decisive significance of progressive forms of labor organization and wages. The current production process requires collective means of solving difficult problems and the more daringly we combine within permanent or temporary collectives people with different skills the faster and more confidently we can advance.

I did not mention daring accidentally. Habit is strong, it does not surrender by itself, it must be fought. I recall how slightly over 4 years ago Gennadiy Alekseyevich Shutkov came to our shop and began to discuss with the workers the need to organize a brigade which would work in three shifts. His reasons were accurate. However, the boys refused although they had been personally asked by the director. A second such talk ended without results: the machine-tool workers who were servicing such one-of-a-kind equipment had become accustomed to feel themselves like "kings." It was only after a third

meeting, when the administration showed us the draft brigade regulation which had included many of our suggestions that a collective was set up for work on the basis of a single order and the use of the labor participation coefficient.

The brigade council had to surmount many difficulties before the brigade form came into being. We were greatly helped by the shop party buro and association party committee. Naturally, problems exist to this day but these are already common, brigade problems. We no longer conceive of any other way of work and cannot imagine how it was possible to turn off equipment worth millions of rubles for a full 10 or 12 hours. As to the advantages of three-shift work, you may judge for yourselves whether they are major or minor. The brigade receives a 10 percent bonus supplement, leave in the summer, providing that it can maintain its three-shift schedule; it was given priority in travel vouchers to sanatoriums and rest homes and those who work the third shift receive free food. In our view, these are adequate incentives for interesting the workers in adopting an intensive schedule.

V.M. Polovinkin, deputy chief of the design-technological ChPU machine-tool department:

Although today there are still few such machine-tools, they are no longer an oddity and are increasingly becoming an ordinary cell in the production organism. I am referring to sections based on ChPU machine-tools, which use elements of computer technology. Such sections are given different names although their essence is one and the same: minimum people and maximum automation. Unquestionably, this is the future of large-scale machine output. Our integrated production frame manufacturing complex is one such subunit. What does the experience of its organization indicate?

The idea of organizing an uninterrupted production complex is the result of the initiative of the plant's technological service. This involves a number of new production principles, use of group technology and maximal concentration in the manufacturing of identical parts. A comprehensive brigade of engineers from different services was set up to implement this concept within the framework of the experiment under way in the association, aimed at perfecting wages of engineering and technical workers.

Naturally, not everything here is developing smoothly. There are errors, blunders, technical failures and organizational mistakes. As a whole, however, the expediency of our plan is unquestionable and its economic effect is obvious. The implementation of this plan indicates that under the new conditions the technical standards of specialists who are members of the brigade increases rapidly; their experience in interacting becomes richer, particularly in the areas where different skills intersect; the level of computer knowledge has risen. The wage system for engineers stimulates end results and the use of progressive equipment. It enables us to involve highly skilled specialists, particularly people in scarce areas, such as programmers and electronic workers, in solving difficult problems.

The heads of design services in the association, who are attending this meeting, will discuss in greater detail topical problems of enhancing the

prestige of engineers. I would like to point out that in addition to equitable and flexible material incentive, the moral satisfaction derived from the work is of great importance. We feel the steady attention of the administration and the party organization. Above all, in the opinion of our brigade, what is most important is the fact that every member realizes the need for and importance of his job. We see the future of our complex and we know that the results we are obtaining here will be used not only at this project but in many other places as well.

Of late the press has published critical articles on problems of flexible automated production facilities, asking whether we are using them prematurely. Lack of reliable equipment, scarcity of skilled specialists, high cost of development, etc., are mentioned. It is true that machine-tool and instrument manufacturing workers owe us, production workers, a great deal. Their pace of development is clearly inadequate for us, particularly when it comes to computers and their technical features and quality. Time does not wait, however, and by the end of the 5-year plan we must train our specialists and services to work with such equipment and formulate our own requirements concerning automated production facilities which would take into consideration the specific nature of our output.

The small amount of experience which we have acquired in the course of designing and applying flexible production systems indicates that high-level organization and production standards are major factors which influence their successful use. The nature of the machine-tool operator's work is changing. The use of robots makes his work physically light. However, the production rhythm set by a computer, the expanded area of servicing and the extensive amount of equipment tune-ups make such work psychologically stressed. The operator of a module must have substantial knowledge in various technological areas. Stricter requirements are formulated also concerning managers--foremen and section chiefs. They must be able to make knowledgeable technical and economic decisions and master computers to perfection. Another noteworthy feature is that young people willingly go to work where automated production facilities have been installed.

Taking into consideration the difficulty of setting up a flexible production system and the high cost of software support, we believe the time to be ripe for cooperation in engineering work on a number of common problems within a regional or sectorial framework. Such cooperation may take the aspect of temporary engineering collectives working on a common project and the allocation of assignments among "share-holding" enterprises.

V.A. Kazakov, chief designer and chief of KB-1:

In accordance with the 1 July 1983 resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers, an experiment was carried out involving a group of Leningrad enterprises, the purpose of which was to perfect wages of designers and technologists. The Izhorskiy Zavod collective participated in the experiment from the very beginning. Since then we have acquired significant experience. What are its most noteworthy features?

Above all, its largely successful development was helped by the fact that the party and the public organizations and the association's administration were able to create for each initiative an atmosphere of principle-mindedness and responsibility. Every single participant was given the right to seek his own method for most efficient participation in the experiment. At the same time, the planning and economic administration charted a course toward the strict substantiation of all innovations. No corrections were made to the planned assignments of any subunit. End results became the main requirement in summing up results. A major aspect of the experiment was the differentiated rating of the work of designers and technologists: the labor contribution coefficient was applied for collectives and the labor participation coefficient was applied for individuals. Finally, we tried to ensure maximal openness at all stages in the work. What were the results of this experience for the collective?

Above all, the attitude toward the job changed in the overwhelming majority of participants in the experiment. Labor productivity increased and so did performing discipline; professional skills improved substantially; cadres were stabilized and contacts between designers and the production process were strengthened. Thanks to these factors we reduced the time needed for the development of new equipment by roughly 20-25 percent. Disparities in wages, based on the differentiated approach, could be as high as 100 percent of the salary. Currently, our design bureau includes a group of workers who earn more than the chief designer. This is fair, for it is thus that reputation gained through talented and dedicated work is strengthened.

Let me also mention the problems which appeared or became aggravated in the course of the experiment.

First of all, at the initial period of the experiment priority was assumed by psychological aspects related to the rejection of the obsolete stereotypes in thinking and behaving. By no means did everyone prove ready for new developments or wanted change, even though this promised substantial increases in moral and material benefits. This is a major and difficult topic and all I want to emphasize here is that the manager plays a decisive role in setting the proper mood in the collective. Those who neglected painstaking educational work, reducing it to pushing and abusing gained nothing.

Second, let us note that the prestige of the work of designers has still not reached a suitable level. This is an essential problem directly related to changes in the nature of design work. For the time being, however, few improvements are taking place.

Finally, we were unable to make a radical change in the quality of manufacturing. Practical experience indicates that the experiment's influence has its limits. Obviously, as the resulting indicator of the activities of the labor collective in the enterprise, quality must be subordinated to the strongest and most general incentives.

M.I. Voyeykov, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, doctor of economic sciences:

In my view, the main feature in the enhancement of the human factor is creating conditions for normal work. This means that the person must be given a work place equipped with modern facilities. Materials and tools must be made available on a steady basis and good living conditions must be provided both for his home and at work. He must have reliable comrades and be paid a just salary. The results of a number of sociological studies, including those made in Leningrad, indicate that people operating under normal working conditions increase their productivity by a minimum of 10 to 30 percent or even 50 percent.

Obviously absurdities have developed in terms of wages. There is a ceiling for even the most highly productive labor and a guaranteed wage minimum for the least productive work; an obvious equalization trend exists. A respective labor mentality has developed, that of "not standing out," and in the final account, not showing any zeal. The lack of a just reward for labor results frequently leads to a passive attitude toward labor. Can we tolerate such a situation any longer? Suffice it to look at statistical data of the past 10 years to answer simply that no, we cannot.

In recent years an active search has begun for ways of surmounting, to put it frankly, a dangerous situation. One such way is the Leningrad experiment which is formulating principles governing the salaries of engineers and designers. As we know, based on the results of this experiment, the number of jobs at Izhorskii Zavod was reduced by 360; labor productivity increased by 30 percent and the average monthly salary of designers was improved. I believe, however, that the main result of the experiment is that the problems of additional assignments and stressed plan vanished. The designers themselves try to obtain such plans and to implement them faster and better. The competition is based not on formal characteristics but on realistic and vitally important concepts. Nevertheless, we must not ignore the new problems which appear with the wage differentiation. Obviously, a certain stratum of highly paid workers, specialists and employees will appear. Naturally, there is nothing bad in this, for no elitism exists among our best workers. The main thing is that for this process to be strictly based on labor contribution. In addition to a substantial material incentive given to frontrankers, however, we must persistently develop the high moral prestige enjoyed by the best workers. We must deliberately create and shape a vanguard of the working class, kolkhoz members and intellectuals, as was the case, for example, of the first shock workers, the Stakhanovites of the 1930s. Currently such work has been neglected or is being done sporadically and is greatly damaged by formalism. Let us consider the case of Izhorskii Zavod. Here thousands of people are communist labor shock workers. However, at the same time we have cases of loafing, truancy and defective work. It is obvious that some people, officially considered "shock workers," have major shortcomings and their moral and professional credo is well-known to those around them. The impact which this has on the prestige of shock work is self-evident.

We frequently call for developing a feeling of proprietorship. I assume, however, that today we need less a feeling and more developing a strict economic situation in which every working person would act like an owner. An example of this is found in the brigade organization of labor. By now a

number of problems have accumulated in this area, the main one being the fact that the economic mechanism based on outlays hinders the development of brigade cost accounting. However, we also clearly see that brigade methods have a great future.

G.N. Cherkasov, head of the department of sociology and scientific organization of labor, Leningrad Financial-Economics Institute imeni N.A. Voznesenskiy, doctor of economic sciences:

I shall continue the very interesting discussion which was started here on a problem which, only recently, seemed prevalent everywhere but, of late, has literally disappeared out of sight in the mass information media or at meetings and conferences: the brigade organization of labor. What is the reason for the fact that we are so greatly forgetting it? The answer is simple: Today in industry about 75 percent of the workers work in brigades. The impression, consequently, is that making the brigade form of labor organization the basic method has been essentially achieved. Why then waste time and newsprint? I believe, however, that this is necessary.

Initially, it would be stupid to pursue any further development of the brigade organization of labor at Izhorskij Zavod or some other Leningrad enterprises, where at the beginning of 1986 the brigade form of labor organization had reached the 80 percent level. However, and this is the main thing, despite such indicators, neither within individual enterprises nor in the country at large we can trace any major link between the application of brigade methods and increased labor productivity and improved production quality. For the time being, such interaction is extremely relative.

Under these circumstances, many people consider not strange but just to set aside the problem of brigades and take up something else, such as the installation of robots, which is what they do. Quite frequently this involves relying on so-called unmanned technology which allegedly would rescue us from any kind of social and organizational problems, replacing them with purely technical ones. Actually, I believe, it should be a question of the new meaning which must be ascribed to organizational forms including, naturally, the brigade organization of labor. In this case, obviously, the task must be to change the course from extensive development to a more intensive development of this form, saturating it with progressive ideas.

I believe that all of us must understand the main thing: the brigade is not a technological or an organizational-administrative formation but a specific social organism which is set up not for making an impression or report purposes and even not because some type of equipment cannot be used without it. It appears as a result of developed socioeconomic needs within society, which require finding methods for a closer and more active link among the interests of the individual and the primary collective and those of the enterprise, sector or society at large.

Naturally, in real life this need is determined by scientific and technical progress and by many of the trends of technological development. For example, this includes the flexible automated production systems which urgently demand the collective work of engineers. The main thing, however, is still the fact

that collective work is, in itself, a new productive force. In a number of areas it combines concepts such as "I" and "we," "mine" and "ours." Therefore, today we must most persistently combine the solution of intensification problems and of accelerating our development with concepts such as brigade cost accounting, collective contract and development of self-government by labor collectives.

If this is obvious, something else becomes equally obvious: we keep forgetting that a brigade does not turn into a mature collective which can justify all hopes automatically, by virtue of an administrative order. That is why sometimes brigades exist on paper only. I believe that the true strength of party and public organizations, administrations and enterprise economic and sociological services is manifested in their ability to enhance deliberately and persistently the status of brigades as the basic cells of the labor collective.

I am speaking of strength, for paying true attention to brigade methods requires a profound restructuring of production management and organization. Whereas for many decades the individual worker was considered such a basic link, today he is replaced by the primary collective. In order for this to take place, very important changes must be made in planning, technology, labor norming and wages and training cadres and in educational work. Unfortunately, it is precisely such changes that are frequently not made.

From the Minutes

N.M. Monakhov. Question to G.N. Cherkasov:

Geliy Nikolayevich, as a specialist in this area what could you say about a comprehensive use of the labor participation coefficient? Could it be that we do not trust the brigade leader or brigade council sufficiently and fall back on material incentive figures?

G.N. Cherkasov:

I support experimentation and maximal flexibility in wages. We must try various forms. As to the labor participation coefficient, figures are set not by anyone but by the brigade council or brigade leader. In other words, it is precisely they who control material incentive. It is true that in determining labor contribution with the help of the labor participation coefficient, we come across a rather dirty trick: the fact that this system must assess all members of the brigade without exception, even if they have known one another well for many years and trust the others like they trust themselves. In a small brigade of four to six people it is psychologically very difficult to lower someone's labor participation coefficient because of an isolated failure: only yesterday you and I went fishing together and today you are bad and I will take away 10 rubles from you and give it to that one, the good worker. Intuitively feeling the unsuitability of this approach, frequently the brigades use the labor participation coefficient formally or else abandon it altogether. Therefore, new methods are needed. Perhaps we should apply in labor collectives the certification principles according to which wage supplements are given (or withheld) over a lengthy period of time.

V.P. Berezin:

At the time that my brigade was being organized I bought a small calculator and, without waiting for instructions, for time was running short and the people had to be paid, I spent several evenings at home calculating everyone's wage on the basis of individual contribution. The brigade council looked at the calculations, approved them and signed the document. The next day a member of the labor and wages department came to see me and told me that I had done everything improperly. I had erroneously applied the labor participation coefficient regulation which, incidentally, I had not seen. Well, we recomputed. We began to allocate wages according to the regulations. The difference between the regulations and my estimates turned out to be 2-3 rubles. The official of the labor and wages department was pleased. To this day, however, I continue to compute salaries as I did in the first place. No brigade member is displeased for everything is in the open....

I.N. Semenov, question to Ye.G. Antosenkov, director of the USSR State Committee for Labor Scientific Research Labor Institute, doctor of economic sciences:

It seems to me, Yevgeniy Grigoryevich, that when we speak of a slow growth of labor productivity in the brigades we frequently cheat and do not call things by their proper names. The essence of the matter is that now it has become unprofitable for the worker to be initiative-minded and to increase his output; he finds it better to hold back reserves "for later." Why? Because if one works well a norming official appears and raises the norm thus essentially punishing the worker for his initiative. Are you familiar with such cases? This is a very restraining factor currently....

Ye.G. Antosenkov:

This is a difficult, grave and topical problem. Without discussing its theory, let me note basic features. Other elements in the organization of wages, above all the level of wage rates, have a major impact on the state of labor norming and the progressive nature of current standards. At the present time, due to the fact that the current wage rates have remained unchanged for more than 10 years, their share of the overall earnings of the workers is in the vicinity of 50 percent.

Under these circumstances, occasionally labor norms are used to regulate wages. Unquestionably, this is not their function. The introduction of new higher wage rates must play a major role in the elimination of this major shortcoming.

In September 1986 the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU passed the decree "On Improving the Organization of Wages and Introducing New Wage Rates and Salaries for Workers in Production Sectors in the National Economy." I shall discuss its basic principles later. For the time being, let me draw your attention only to an aspect pertaining to our discussion. In the course of the preparations for the introduction of the new wage rates at the enterprises all existing norms at enterprises will be reviewed along with their consistency with organizational and technical

conditions. New norms will be set, based on intersectorial, sectorial and other progressive standards. Following the introduction of the new wage rates and new norms, through the mobilization of additional reserves, labor productivity should increase and, on this basis wages should be raised. (Continuation and end in the next issue).

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DEVELOPMENT OF TERRITORIAL ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 40-50

[Article by Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, head of the department of organization and methods of public production management, department of economics, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, doctor of economic sciences, professor]

[Text] Optimizing the correlation between sectorial and territorial management is an organic component of the process of developing and integral economic mechanism consistent with the requirements of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The 27th CPSU Congress set the task of increasing the "territorial approach to planning and management." This, as was noted at the congress, "is particularly important for such a vast multinational country as ours, operating under a variety of conditions."

Highly socialized production objectively tends toward the establishment of certain sectorial and regional organizational structures. This is the material foundation for singling out two corresponding approaches to management. This applies to centralized planned management, which actualizes the ownership of the means of production by the whole people, achieved through both sectorial and territorial management. This circumstance is legislatively codified in the USSR Constitution, whose Article 16 on managing the socialist economy calls for a consideration of the "sectorial and territorial principles."

In practice, territorial economic management is largely provided through the activities of the soviets of people's deputies, the significance of which will greatly increase, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for Further Upgrading the Role and Increasing the Responsibility of People's Deputies for Accelerating the Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress." In this connection the question of the scientific formulation of long-term territorial economic management prospects becomes equally relevant.

In order to interpret territorial management problems, which were actualized by the 27th CPSU Congress, in our view, we must consider their current status. We must theoretically analyze the content of the regional aspect of economic

management and, for the sake of discussion, determine the logic which should govern the practical development of new management methods.

Territorial Production Management Under Contemporary Conditions

The central organs are the leading subject of the territorial economic management in a planned economy. A considerable group of problems of economic development of any given area is solved on the highest national economic level: by the Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, the Gosstroy, the State Committee for Science and Technology and other intersectorial functional bodies. Their decisions set standards, wage systems, norms and many other features of territorial management. Within the union republics, a similar role is played by the republic central authorities.

The sectorial ministries are the second participant in territorial economic management. Together with the sectorial middle-level authorities and administrations of enterprises and associations, they are in charge of solving a number of regional problems.

Finally, the local administrative-territorial bodies are the third participant: the soviets of people's deputies and their executive bodies.

In providing nationwide economic management, the central authorities try to make maximal use of the possibilities of the territorial approach, for without their efficient efforts historical gains achieved by real socialism, such as the economic upsurge of economically backward national areas in the country, the creation of a powerful coal and metallurgical base in the east, and the development of the virgin lands, would have been impossible. The far-sighted decisions which were made at the center at the right time concerning the development of the petroleum and gas area in Western Siberia ensured the normal functioning of the unified national economic complex despite a changed energy base.

In recent years the central authorities have increased their attention to the regional level of economic management. This trend was supported by the 27th CPSU Congress, which noted the need "to emphasize the territorial aspect of activities of the USSR Gosplan and the ministries." At the present time the role of subunits dealing with territorial problems is being increased within the structure of territorial agencies (the USSR Gosplan above all). Nevertheless, we must most clearly note that by virtue of the functional nature of intersectorial agencies, it is frequently difficult to ensure the efficient implementation of their decisions.

An important means in upgrading the contribution of the central authorities in economic management (general-competence and functional agencies) in territorial management is the regional target development programs. We must bear in mind, however, that by virtue of their position the central authorities can undertake exclusively the implementation of the largest and most extensive programs (such as the building of the Baykal-Amur Mainline and the development of the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR).

How does the second main participant in territorial management--sectorial ministries and their agencies--function?

Usually, problems of territorial economic management are formulated and solved by the ministries exclusively within the context of sectorial development. Naturally, this is related to the range of competence of the specific agencies. The following question arises in this connection: Is it possible to increase the contribution of sectorial ministries to solving problems of regional economic management and to the efforts to mobilize territorial reserves for the growth of efficiency?

We believe this to be possible. First of all, through the more consistent observance of the territorial principle in organizing production associations. Second, by singling out (within the framework of the existing apparatus of a number of ministries) administrations which would be in charge of the territorial aspect of sectorial economic management. Third, by setting up, as a result of reducing the central apparatus of ministries, special sectorial regional authorities (even if only for purposes of coordination).

The establishment of administrative authorities for large and basic groups of sectors, which has been undertaken, such as the machine-building, agroindustrial, energy, etc., should also substantially facilitate the solution of many territorial economic management problems.

Nevertheless, we must frankly admit that territorial economic management cannot be provided to the necessary extent by the sectorial authorities. The latter may act as subjects of territorial economic management only within certain limited boundaries.

In discussing the question of the third participant in territorial economic management--the local soviets and their executive committees and bodies (subdivisions) of such executive committees, let us emphasize that they manage above all the under local jurisdiction.

As we know, all economic sectors are classified into four groups, under union, union-republic, republic and local administration. In order to manage sectors under local jurisdiction, the executive committees (including those of the large cities) set up administrative bodies for local industry, construction materials, capital construction, trade, public catering, consumer and communal economy, culture, health care, public education, social security, etc. The oblast ispolkoms also set up other services, such as those dealing with the fuel industry, road building and repairs and automotive vehicle transportation. Agriculture is a most important sector in the work of the local authorities.

From the viewpoint of management, in our view, a most topical problem in the economic activities of the local authorities is the lack currently of a clear criterion of what should be classified as an industry under local administration and, correspondingly, would it be expedient to put it under the administration of local authorities. Another problem is related to the fact that even in terms of sectors under local jurisdiction, such authorities by no means control all enterprises and organizations on their territory.

As to the sectors under local administration, which are not under the jurisdiction of the soviets, as well as organizations and enterprises under union, union-republic and republic sectorial administration, the local authorities provide supervisory and coordinating functions. Thus, all enterprises and organizations are controlled by the local soviet ispolkom on matters of the utilization of the land, water and timber and the observance of health and fire prevention regulations. The main feature of this area of management is the problem of guaranteed rights local authorities must have.

Finally, the result of economic management by local authorities is the development of facilities in their area as a single entity, as a complex. Here as well the main feature is their rights and the enforcement of these rights.

In recent years extensive efforts have been made to broaden the rights of the local authorities. This was legally codified in the USSR Constitution and in many other documents. The clearest manifestation of this process is found in the urban and oblast planning commissions the purpose of which is to draft a consolidated economic plan for the development of a given territory. The rights of the planning commissions in Moscow and Leningrad have been substantially increased.

Despite such positive changes, for the time being the local authorities are still experiencing difficulties in solving many problems of territorial economic management. For example, because of insufficient research and design institutes of their own, in frequent cases the soviets must wait a long time before obtaining plans drawn up by sectorial ministries. This too is a case not of territorial administration but simply of coordination of sectorial efforts on a territorial level.

Restrictions in the rights of the local authorities are felt particularly keenly in the procurement of financial, material and technical resources. In economics, however, a right is actual only if it is supported monetarily and materially and exercised through specific production and procurement plans. That is why further improvements are needed in the planning and economic mechanism for administrative-territorial management.

The purpose of such improvements are, first of all, to increase the interest shown by the local authorities in ensuring the efficient work of all production enterprises and organizations on their territory. Second, the local authorities must be allocated substantial resources enabling them to create a favorable "territorial climate" for the activities of enterprises and associations. To this effect, in our view, it would be expedient to use the various funds withheld from enterprises for use by the local soviets (withholdings from general revenue, payments to the wage fund, etc.) precisely as part of the mechanism of the currently applied real cost accounting. In our view, such steps would be consistent with the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress of increasing the dependence of "local budget revenue on the results of economic activities of local associations, enterprises and organizations."

The purpose of the steps taken in the matter of the functions and rights of central, sectorial and local administrative-territorial authorities, earmarked

by the 27th CPSU Congress, is to ensure radical progress in strengthening the territorial approach to planning and management. Further developments of the this system presume a thorough study of the nature of regional economic management and the solution of a number of theoretical and practical problems.

Development of Territorial Economic Management

In our view, it would be expedient clearly to distinguish in the content of territorial economic management between production and social activities.

Production territorial economic management includes the functioning of production enterprises (associations) and organizations located on a given territory. Its purpose is to produce certain items and its boundaries are limited to the territorial location of production facilities. Social territorial economic management has as its targets the housing and communal economy, consumer services, passenger transportation, medical institutions, trade, education, culture, recreation and others. Its main purpose is to serve the population of a given territory. Its "product" is the worker and its range is limited to the confines of settlements.

Naturally, the differences between the production and social territorial economic management are relative, for both types of social activity ensure the functioning of parts of a single national economic complex. These differences, however, are important in the study of territorial management problems.

As we look at the historical development of territorial economic management, let us consider above all its typical 1930-1940 variant.

Enterprises whose output was consumed almost entirely outside the given area operated under the jurisdiction of a given administrative subdivision (kray, oblast). Local industry and a certain number of light and food industry enterprises (mainly small ones) worked for local consumption. The local population was the main consumer of agricultural commodities.

Social economic management managed essentially education and health care establishments. The overwhelming majority of the population, even in the cities, had its private housing; heating, house maintenance, laundry, repairs, etc., were the concern of the household.

At that time the status of the territorial economic management was determined by the respective type of administration. The local authorities controlled the social area and in production economic management, sectors working essentially for the population of a given territory: agriculture and local industry. Heavy and light industry and transportation enterprises, in a given territory, were under the jurisdiction of union and union-republic sectorial management authorities.

The development of public production and the use of the achievement of the scientific and technical revolution have made today radical changes in both types of territorial economic management and in the correlation between them.

The cities (the large cities above all) became the main centers in which the population concentrated. The urban economy is growing tempestuously and its service area is developing correspondingly: most complex grids of engineering facilities, water mains, sewers, heating, urban transportation, appeared. The consumer service sector is drastically improving. At the same time, however, for a variety of reasons there has been a qualitative leap in the development of the household economy, which today is being increasingly supplied with modern facilities (vacuum cleaners, floor polishers, high frequency cooking ranges, complex toys, private cars, sports equipment, and others). Entire sectors servicing household needs are appearing.

Such processes have led to the fact that the area of the territorial social economy has been steadily expanding and becoming more complex.

The increased role of social factors in accelerating our development, emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, enhances even further the significance of territorial social economic management. It is precisely this management that is becoming the unit directly responsible for satisfying population requirements.

Changes in industrial territorial economic management affect, above all, local production facilities. In recent years specific types of local demand have largely disappeared: population needs for commodities and services are being "standardized" (furniture, clothing, cultural goods and many others). Correspondingly, the satisfaction of such demand requires the involvement of the country's entire national economy.

Whereas previously agriculture was a typical area of territorial economic management, the purpose of which was to meet local demand above all, today the development of industrialization in agricultural production, its specialization, and the development of transportation are rapidly converting agricultural sectors into activities in which providing for "their own" territory is accounting for a steadily diminishing share.

The overall conclusion is that share of production specifically aimed at a given territory has substantially diminished.

On the other hand, the regional aspect of sectorial activities has been substantially developed. Here manpower scarcity has become an important issue: various sectors are trying to put enterprises precisely where there is no available manpower. The increased significance of the territorial approach was also affected by the overall saturation of the majority of administrative-territorial units with enterprises of different sectors. As their number increases and as their interrelationship becomes more complex, the problem of territorial complexity assumes increasing significance. Today it has become quite urgent.

In our view, the main changes in territorial production economic management are related to the development of the territorial production infrastructure. In the course of the scientific and technical revolution and the development of the public nature of output, projects which service and provide support to basic material production sectors are beginning to play an exceptionally

important role. This includes transportation, roadways, gas mains, material and technical supplies, water supplies, engineering equipment, communications, etc.

Furthermore, as long as a limited number of enterprises (as a rule of different sectors) could be found in one oblast or area or another, they organized their own warehousing and power facilities and repairs and servicing of basic production as a whole. Whenever within a single city or oblast a number of a great variety of enterprises are at work, the existence of "their own" servicing shops, sectors and facilities proves to be an inefficient choice (because of their relatively small size, nonoptimal location, and disparity between them and the possibilities currently provided by scientific and technical progress). That is why a new component--a common production base for sectorial enterprises--appeared and is rapidly developing in the area of industrial regional economic management.

Although the share of the production infrastructure in the GNP is no longer so substantial, it is quite high in terms of basic production capital and industrial capital investments.

The levels of labor productivity and production efficiency are becoming increasingly dependent on the development of the production infrastructure. Thus, for example, simply eliminating current losses in harvesting, transporting, storing and processing agricultural commodities would enable us to increase consumption by up to 20 percent without increasing output.

The main aspect of the internal division of sectors within the production infrastructure is the regional. Furthermore, the corresponding parts of the various infrastructural sectors, "merge" with each other: transportation, warehousing, procurements, power, environmental protection and others form a common territorial infrastructural complex. Hence the conclusion that in such sectors it is precisely the regional principle which is dominant in its structure.

Consequently, as the economy develops and as enterprises concentrate, an increasing number of production facilities in the separate areas act not only as part of sectorial production facilities but also as parts of a single target of economic management in a given territory.

The dialectics of change in the correlation between the sectorial and territorial approaches is manifested with particular clarity in scientific and technical progress. As we know, in the past it was precisely the aggravation of its problems that became one of the main reasons for closing down sovnarkhozes and reopening ministries. Naturally, today as well one of the main advantages of sectorial economic management is linked to the possibilities provided by rapid scientific and technical progress. At the same time, in the past 20 years the role of the regional aspect of managing scientific and technical progress has increased drastically.

First of all, the large intersectorial multi-specialized scientific and technical centers are an essential factor in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The functions of territorial management are quite

important in establishing and managing the development of such centers. Second, the extensive intersectorial dissemination of innovations, of anything which is known in the theory of management as the "diffusion of new application," is more energetic precisely within a regional context. We are quite familiar with the Ukrainian experience in the implementation of large-scale regional scientific and technical programs and the experience of local republic programs in the Baltic states. Third, in the course of scientific and technical progress objective trends become apparent, which are quite efficient in a territorial organization. Suffice it to look at regional systems for scientific and technical information, regional shared computer centers, centers for leasing equipment, and metrological organizations.

Therefore, even in a classical "sectorial" area--contemporary scientific and technical progress--the utilization of the possibilities of territorial economic management is becoming increasingly urgent.

It is precisely said changes in territorial economic management that, in our view, call for taking a new look at problems of perfecting territorial economic management.

Ways of Improving Territorial Economic Management

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for Further Upgrading the Role and Increasing the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress" is aimed at enhancing the work of the soviets and upgrading their responsibility for all areas of life on their territory. Its practical implementation does not exclude the possibility of analyzing the variety of long-term developments of soviet economic activities and territorial economic management as a whole. In this connection, I would like to express several considerations.

The tasks of the local administrative and territorial authorities today involve both territorial social economic management and territorial-production management. In this connection, let us focus above all on the following empirical fact: the task of simultaneously working on meeting the needs of the population of a given territory and supplying consumer plants located in other oblasts with commodities (which are frequently in short supply even in the case of "their own" enterprises) cannot be efficiently accomplished by said authorities. They find it difficult even to combine concern for the citizens on their territory with attention aimed at the comprehensive utilization of all available resources, for the solution of the second problem frequently necessitate significant expenditures urgently needed to meet social economic management requirements.

The local soviets are, above all, power authorities holding political power. Territorial production economic management, however, absolutely demands specifically economic methods, including cost accounting and management. In our view, increasing the "cost accounting" approach to the activities of soviets would merely complicate their work in the social area. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that economic territorial boundaries are quite flexible

and that the transformation of administrative-territorial structures into corresponding "mobile" formations could also substantially hinder the solution of territorial problems of social economic management by the local authorities. Equally important is the following: the very nature of most social development problems takes decades to solve, if they are to be solved systematically and in full.

This adequately substantiates the thesis according to which the local soviets are called upon primarily to carry out specifically tasks of territorial social management. Let us emphasize that the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 note that it is particularly important to broaden the rights of the local authorities "in planning and managing sectors directly related to the satisfaction of population requirements."

As long as the share of tasks related to territorial production management was low, they were solved by the local soviets more or less successfully (although not always to the necessary extent). However, since the scale of territorial production problems has been steadily growing and they are becoming more complex, it is becoming increasingly difficult for such authorities to find and successfully apply the most efficient management solutions.

The concentration of two different economic functions (territorial-production and territorial-social) within a single authority thus creates an objectively conflicting situation. The main difficulties in solving territorial-production problems, in our view, are precisely those related to the fact that in the past 20 years they have increasingly been assumed by the local soviets, with their structure, rights and obligations and specific political-educational and administrative management methods.

Unable to surmount difficulties by themselves, frequently the local soviets are forced to seek the assistance of the local party bodies, the amount of direct involvement of which in territorial production management has been steadily increasing. This participation frequently turns from party guidance to direct daily activities concerning the allocation of freight cars, scarce supplies, etc.

We believe that separating territorial complexes from the territorial-production infrastructure as individual public production sectors requires setting up a system of special authorities for territorial economic management. The purpose of such authorities would be to manage territorial production and the territorial limits of their rights would coincide with objectively developing economic complexes.

Whereas the sectorial level of economic management determines the system of sectorial management authorities and the territorial level determines social management through the system of local administrative-territorial bodies, in our view territorial production economic management must have "its own" system consistent with that of territorial economic authorities.

Clearly, territorial centers--industrial, transport, power, construction, etc.--could become the primary unit in the system of territorial economic

management bodies. By "coupling" the efforts of enterprises and production associations, such a center would inevitably operate as an organization superior to them, i.e., in a "mode" similar in type to the nature of activities of an association operating on the basis of total cost accounting.

The second unit in the recommended system of territorial economic management authorities could be an objective economic formation such as a territorial complex, which would include such centers. Similar complexes already exist as territorial-production complexes, specifically in the new construction areas: the South-Tajik, Timan-Pechora, Bratsk-Ust-Ilim and others. The existing territorial-economic formations, such as the Donbass and the economic complexes of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities are also acting as such. With some latitude, we could describe as an economic complex the resort complex in the North Caucasian Mineral Waters Zone. By virtue of the specific nature of possible problems and levels of organization with which it will have to interact, the authority administering the territorial complex should, we believe, have rights similar to those of a union or republic ministry.

The territorial complex could include a variety of organizational types of intereconomic associations engaged in the production of goods for intersectorial use and associations in charge of installing, tuning and operating treatment systems and shared computer centers. We must also take into consideration coordination associations engaged in the production of consumer goods, scientific and technical and engineering centers and associations for commission services in placing orders for unique equipment and production capacities.

The third level in a territorial economic management, we believe, should be agencies controlling large economic areas (within territorially vast union republics or groups of republics). This would apply, for example, to the area of the Extreme North or the Baltic. The management of such large economic areas would necessitate authorities whose rights would be delegated by the USSR Council of Ministers and the republic councils of ministers. Let us note in this connection that the Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized the following: "The question of managing the national economy on the basis of large economic areas should be considered."

Therefore, we can clearly see three main areas of activities of a possible system of authorities: organizing complexes within the entire economy of the project, developing the production-economic infrastructure, and managing production sectors of local significance. Major sectors of activity of the new economic authorities could, in our view, also include the comprehensive utilization of manpower, raw material and other regional resources; and the comprehensive utilization and processing of recycled raw materials and waste (including selling industrial waste to the population).

We believe that such a system of territorial-economic agencies would enable us to develop a mechanism which would ensure the practical implementation of the general plan for the deployment of production forces of the USSR, the general plan for USSR territorial settlements, the regional sections of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, the general plans of cities, regional planning systems and the planning of industrial centers.

Occasionally, in scientific discussions, ways of improving territorial-economic management are sometimes linked to restoring one aspect of sovnarkhoz activities or another, "forgetting" the major shortcomings of that form of management. Naturally, the sovnarkhozes clearly offered some possibilities for increasing efficiency, related to the territorial aspect of production management. However, we must bear in mind that this was an effort to absolutize the territorial approach and to make it the main and basic system which essentially eliminated sectorial management. Furthermore, as territorial agencies, the sovnarkhozes were clearly incomplete. Essentially they dealt with nothing but industry. Their boundaries were those of the administrative division of the country. The management methods which had developed in these agencies were essentially administrative and, in a number of cases, the absence of real centralism was felt. Practical experience proved the unacceptability of this choice.

The basic difference between the suggested agencies and the sovnarkhozes are easy to note. The former have management as their target and do not take the place of sectorial authorities in the least. Furthermore, they must use primarily economic management methods.

We believe that the creation of a system of territorial-economic authorities could substantially change the functions of the local soviets. Gradually, the extent of their direct responsibility for some production areas would be reduced. On the other hand, the part they play and their responsibility in solving problems related to the well-being and comforts of the population of their area would be truly enhanced. Therefore, the sectorial and territorial-economic agencies would be responsible, above all, for production efficiency while the local soviets, would be in charge mainly of the population's living standard.

This would also facilitate the work of intersectorial and sectorial management authorities, which would be relieved of a number of extraneous functions.

With the current expansion of the rights of local authorities, the establishment of such a proposed system of territorial economic bodies would unquestionably complicate the problem of enterprise jurisdiction. To begin with, there would be three types of jurisdiction: sectorial, territorial-production and administrative-territorial; with such a system the association (enterprise) would make mandatory withholdings from accumulations for four different units (for the state budget and for sectorial, administrative-territorial and territorial-economic authorities). Second, the basic economic unit--enterprise or association--would be under the jurisdiction of each of the three management units only to the extent related to the direct competence of the latter.

Paradoxical though this might seem on the surface, such a "multiple-channel" subordination could become simpler as greater economic autonomy is given to basic production units, for difficulties in assigning rights appear, as we know, precisely with administrative management methods whereas this problem largely vanishes with the use of economic methods.

That is why the true solution of the problems of sectorial and territorial management is, in our view, inseparably related to the development of the economic mechanism and the conversion of basic production units to total cost accounting, while sectorial and territorial bodies would convert to the use of primarily economic management methods.

Unquestionably, the practical approach to the establishment of territorial agencies is not a simple one.

Obviously, it would be relatively easier to develop a system of autonomous territorial economic agencies subordinated to the USSR Council of Ministers and its intersectorial functional agencies on the principle of the system of sectorial management agencies. On the other hand, we must not ignore the positive experience acquired by the local soviets in solving territorial economic problems. A most essential feature is that, as a rule, the boundaries of cities and many oblast coincide with those of territorial economic centers and complexes. This provides an objective opportunity for organizing most administrative agencies (territorial centers and territorial complexes) of city and oblast soviets on the basis of granting autonomy to a number of their subunits (within the limits of the size of the personnel of the administrative apparatus and the conversion of such subunits into cost accounting enterprises.

Under such circumstances it is only in some cases that the creation of new agencies for the territorial centers and complexes will become necessary. It will also be a question of several large economic rayons in which it would be expedient to set up authoritative management agencies (by reassigning the personnel of republic and all-union planning, financial, procurement and other functional units).

We believe that the establishment of a system of specialized territorial and economic agencies is consistent with the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee report to the 27th Party Congress, which called for "providing management with contemporary organizational structures," which would include the creation of "territorial-production units."

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LESSONS FROM AN INVESTIGATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 51-59

[Article by Vitaliy Yevgenyevich Sukhachevskiy, KOMMUNIST special correspondent]

[Text] It is quite difficult to get used to the idea that a prosperity which has been increasing for many years turns out, one beautiful day, into nothing but the appearance of the same. For a while, the old concept which, only yesterday, seemed inviolable, retains its inertial power and it may seem as though nothing has been lost and that the obstacles encountered on the way have been accidental, such as to hinder the movement without, however, stopping it.

Yet, when the fog of illusions is lifted, is everyone able to draw proper conclusions?

In April 1986 Izdatelstvo Moskovskiy Rabochiy signed to press and soon thereafter published and sent to bookstores a big and beautifully presented book entitled "Flagman Stankostroyeniya. Stranitsy Istorii Zavoda 'Krasnyy Proletariy' imeni A.I. Yefremova" [Flagbearer of Machine-Tool Building. Pages From the History of the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant imeni A.I. Yefremov]. The book described the great and outstanding life of this famed collective, which had made a significant contribution to the development and advancement of domestic industry. Krasnyy Proletariy, which is one of the oldest plants in the country, holds to this day a noted position in machine-tool building: it accounts for nearly one half of the machine tools with numerical programming and robot-engineering sets manufactured by the sector.

Considering the merits of this plant and its fame, one could generally understand the superlative assessment given to its accomplishments and plans. The book was the logical extension and the monumental presentation of many years of praise, voiced verbally and in print with unabated enthusiasm.

It was approximately at the time that the book came out that once again the name of this famous enterprise was sounded loudly. This was at the plenum of the Moscow City Party Committee. The report, which was printed in full in the capital's newspapers in the section in which the work of the urban industry is analyzed noted, in particular, the following: "Based on the results of the

first half of the year, the share of items with the Emblem of Quality Declined (by 3.4 percent) and the emblem was removed from 107 different items. On 623 occasions the Gosstandart Inspectorate banned the selling of substandard goods.... During the first days of inspection of items as the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant, famous for its experience in upgrading technical standards and production quality, the state control officials did not receive a single machine tool. The plant had urgently to bring order in its technical documentation, seek additional areas for bench testing and recertify its measuring tools.... Time was lost, the half-annual plan remained unfulfilled and the plant fell short of delivering 219 ChPU-equipped machine tools. The plant personnel had clearly overrated itself.... This should be an example for the entire city...."

This demands a clarification. The state inspection of output, which has now been introduced at many industrial enterprises, was at that time in the planning stage. Its elements were being developed at a few plants. As circumstances developed (which we shall describe in greater detail) Krasnyy Proletariy was one of them. It found itself in the situation described from the rostrum of the gorkom's plenum.

Muscovites read the newspapers thoroughly. They had not become all that jaded by the open and frank discussion; not all that frequently had they heard such a specific and sharp discussion of the obvious failures which had taken place in many sectors of the city's economic and social life.

One after another, puzzled questions were asked. What, for example, had happened to Krasnyy Proletariy? Why had it happened? Could this have been an annoying breakdown, an isolated failure? Or else, was it the manifestation of one of those situations which had taken years to develop and which had been detected in the cleansing process of the restructuring extended to all aspects of the economic and social life?

There were innumerable questions, not all of them raised in a customary context.

Emergency Situation

What happened was what had to happen sooner or later. Nearly 2 years ago Krasnyy Proletariy undertook the production of a lathe with numerical program control. The output was 25 lathes per day! This was a pace unmatched by any enterprise in the world. Many of the people I met at the plant began their discussion precisely by quoting this figure. One could understand the pride of people who are marching in the lead. However, the more they emphasized the unparalleled speed of the work, the more clearly I could feel a confusion among some basic principles in the engineering and organizational and, finally, moral concepts of my interlocutors. We shall return to thoughts on this subject later. For the time being, let us try to trace the sequence of events which preceded the situation in which the plant found itself.

Therefore, hundreds and hundreds of ChPU machine-tools began to come off the conveyer belt of Krasnyy Proletariy and go to different enterprises throughout the country. Soon afterwards another process appeared: a flood of complaints

reached 15 Malaya Kaluzhskaya in Moscow. Complaints concerning the low quality of output of Moscow's machine-tool builders reached the central authorities and the editors of newspapers and journals.

The USSR People's Control Committee set up a commission for a comprehensive investigation of the enterprise's work. The commission included representatives of the USSR Gosstandart, the Minstankoprom and wholesale trade organizations. A document was drawn up based on the results of the investigation, consisting of some 10 typewritten pages. This document described in detail the structural, technological and manufacturing shortcomings which had been identified in the course of the investigation, and the defects in the complementing items.

A special inspection system was introduced at the plant as of 21 May: now the finished goods could not be shipped to the consumer without the permission of representatives of the USSR Gosstandart. The result proved overwhelming: in a 10-day period in May not a single machine tool was accepted as it was! Twenty-eight percent of machine tools easily passed the test in June, 77 percent in July, 90 percent in August and 86.4 percent in September.

At the start of a shift, workers, foremen and engineers would glance at the board with figures and columns drawn up in different colors and sizes. The board indicated the state of affairs. In a way this looked like an electrocardiogram of a person who had been recently very ill. It appeared that the crisis had been surmounted but that arrhythmia could still be felt, the breathing was not as even and deep as in the past, and the previous strength was lacking. However, whereas an individual may find it difficult to deal with such troubles by himself, here we had a collective, an experienced, trained worker collective which began to advance and gradually surmount the lag.

Generally speaking, nothing special was necessary to accomplish this. Additional testing facilities were installed, discipline was strengthened and each section and every individual were made more accountable. In other words, elementary order was introduced and results were not slow in coming.

Please note that it was not a question of any large-scale updating of production facilities or exceptional scientific or technical actions. Simply, strict people came from Gosstandart, said that faulty products would be unacceptable and demanded that such faulty items not leave the plant's gates. This requirement was met without any particular difficulty.

It is true that now it is being said at the plant that this commission of the USSR People's Control Committee made no discoveries whatsoever and that these were things that everyone realized and knew and that there was no need for making any fuss about it. Was this a case of insulted pride? This is more than likely. For many years they were praised, sat in presidiums and basked, most frequently deservedly one must say, in glory and all of the sudden they found themselves in a situation in which they were no longer trusted. But then how else, if we are to name things with their proper names, could one describe this special inspection system?

"This is quite painful for Krasnyy Proletariy," I was frankly told by Nikolay Alekseyevich Bubnov, chief of assembly shop No 1. "I feel personally insulted."

We were sitting in his office, if you could call this an office, a small cubicle with a desk and chairs shining either from use or machine oil, dimly lit and hot. Briefly, this was a typical office of a shop chief in an old enterprise; we could hear on the other side of the wall the dull and even rumbling of the machinery; the telephone occasionally rang and Nikolay Alekseyevich would give short instructions which were apparently clear and understandable to all, for he never repeated a question, explained or argued.

"I came to this shop in 1942 as a lad," Nikolay Alekseyevich recalled. "I was apprentice fitter, then fitter, then foreman. How hard we worked at that time! No one had to be talked into it or urged. The main slogan of that time had an exceptionally mobilizing power: 'Everything for the front, everything for victory!' After the war things did not become any easier, for ever more machine tools were needed, the economy was dislocated. Furthermore, one had simply to earn in order to live and feed one's family. The first time I went on leave was in 1956, which meant that I had worked for 14 years without a break.

"It was then that a different type of life began. To me it seemed very easy. It is true that we held our breath in 1985, when we were issued the assignment of making 6,300 machine tools with ChPU. How to produce them if we were short of testing benches. Meanwhile, the conveyer belt kept rolling and machine tools piled up? We worked in three shifts and 12 hours in a row. In such haste losses were inevitable and quickly became apparent. We were drowned in a flood of complaints."

Nikolay Alekseyevich sighed heavily and thoughtfully looked at the red corner of the office, where the flags--silent witnesses of old victories--were hanging....

Meanwhile, life went on. We set a meeting with Sergey Nikolayevich Sergeyev, plant party committee secretary, for the day after next. The next day, however, Sergey Nikolayevich had already assumed another position: deputy general director in charge of quality. This made my meeting with him even more interesting.

"The foundering at Krasnyy Proletariy is typical and natural," he immediately presented his view. "This does not apply to us only. The level of output currently prevailing in industry has exceptionally aggravated the problem. Even in the manufacturing of the simplest equipment, in terms of today's standards, difficulties and shortcomings occurred but we could eliminate them much more easily. Now each error in design, technology or assembly is far costlier. That is why priority is given to a restructuring of the mentality and awareness of the workers. We became accustomed, let me admit this however bitterly, to the most favored regime. Krasnyy Proletariy can do anything, it is above criticism or suspicion. For years on end a mentality of total permissiveness developed and strengthened, gradually turning into disorder."

I recalled Sergeyev's words in talking with workers at the main conveyer belt, asking everyone the same simple yet quite difficult question: What had happened to Krasnyy Proletariy?

Aleksey Kuzmich Vologdin, a fitter-assemblyman, who had worked in that shop for nearly a quarter of a century and had seen it all, explained the situation as follows:

"Working steadily, every day and every hour conscientiously is a rather difficult thing. It may seem that, as the years go by, such an attitude toward official obligations becomes a second nature. Nevertheless, once in a while I would sinfully catch myself thinking: Brother, you are doing hack work. For example, a part would be moving on the conveyer belt, another part should be fixed to it but it is defective. There is no spare and we make due with what is available. It may pass. And it did!"

This type of mentality was instilled in the people long and persistently. The young workers may not have known it but the veterans well remembered that officially there were two types of technology used in assembling the 1K62-model machine tool. The first was for goods to be exported and the second was for domestic use. Understandably, specifications were different and so were wages. In 1973--not so long ago, is that not so?--the order arrived to apply a single technology. But what kind of order could rapidly reorganize habit and the entire mood of a person? An old and strong mental stereotype persistently kept insisting that anything will do for the "domestic market." Furthermore, the old appeal kept urging: do more and do it faster!

"I could see," admitted fitter-assemblyman Volodya Gorobets, "that a part I was putting in an assembly was unfinished. The conveyer did not wait, however, and I would put this part in. I should have sounded the alarm and stopped the conveyer but was afraid. Of what? Of the plan, obviously. Something within me kept whispering: make no fuss, this will do."

Quantity Into Quality, But What Kind of Quality?

The document drawn up by the commission which investigated the plant contains a devastating conclusion. I quote: "The specified machine tools and robot sets will be produced by the plant during the 12th 5-year period through 1988. Correspondingly, the technical standards of such machine tools and robots will determine the technical standard of the metal processing industry from the viewpoint of developing an 'unmanned' technological process and the productivity and quality of the manufactured parts. However, machine-tool models 16K20FZ and 16K20RFZ, based on universal machine tools of the 16K20 model, are morally obsolete and, in terms of technical standards, are inconsistent with the latest contemporary foreign and domestic models which have been developed for work with flexible production modules.... In order to ensure the optimal solution of the problem of upgrading the efficiency of such sets it would be expedient to develop robot sets based on the ChPU-equipped lathe of a more advanced design."

Such was the conclusion. The people at the plant are unwilling to talk about it and not everyone agrees. This is hardly astonishing. As I was told later

by Sergey Nikolayevich Sergeyev, "It is difficult for us now to go beyond any subjective evaluation."

Objectively, the state of affairs dictated its own conditions. For a long time we proudly said and wrote that we are producing more metal-cutting machine tools than anyone else in the world. Obviously, this was not a self-seeking objective. It was simply the course of events that forced us to increase machine-tool production. The establishment and development of a domestic industry mandatorily called for metal-cutting machine tools. The war aggravated the need for them even further. The Krasnyy Proletariy appeal to machine-tool builders in the country of May 1942 read: "The time has come for us, machine-tool builders, to double and triple our efforts so that within the shortest possible time we may supply our defense plants with additional hundreds and thousands of inexpensive but efficient machine tools...."

Actually, the task did not change after the war: the dislocated economy had to be rebuilt rapidly and more machine tools were needed.

More! This was not a game of competition but a harsh necessity. It dictated the entire rhythm of life of the thousands-strong collective and set standards and principles. This necessity was the sole judge in determining who was to be rewarded and who was to be punished.

Actually, these were the standards and principles with which the entire country lived and they helped us to endure.

Years and decades passed and our economy changed qualitatively. Different means were needed if the new targets were to be met. However, it is not all that simple to stop a fast turning flywheel. More! More! Produce 150,000 machine tools annually, then 180,000, 200,000!

But why did we need to produce 200,000 machine tools annually if one half of them were idling for lack of turners? Actually, why do we love to boast that we are the biggest cement producer in the world if the concrete made with some brands of cement crumbles soon afterwards, faster than is generally admissible? What are the optimal limits to quantitative growth?

Such limits exist and, in addition to common sense and precise economic computations, they are determined also by one of the basic laws of dialectics: the law of conversion of quantity into quality. The question of the nature of the quality is a different one. Would it be a "plus" or "minus" quality?

Apparently, in the case of machine-tool building the law of dialectics was not successful. After satisfying the urgent needs of the national economy, the sector continued to produce the same type of goods. Having crossed the critical line, quantity turned into a new quality which carried the "minus" sign and began to obstruct progress in the national economy. Morally obsolete machine tools could not provide the required level of productivity and vast numbers of such machines were being used extremely inefficiently; many thousands of machine tools were idling, freezing huge capital.

A solution to this problem had to be found. Let us recall that 2 years ago Krasnyy Proletariy was instructed to undertake the production of a new type of technology-machine tools with numerical program control--and, on their basis, to develop robot sets. Had the law of dialectics finally began to function accurately? Depends on our interpretation. Yevgeniy Pavlovich Gavrilov, head of a fitter-assemblymen brigade, with 16 years of practical experience at the main conveyer belt, provides the following interpretation:

"A cart remains a cart even if it is driven by a computer instead of a team of horses. This is roughly what happened in our case. They added electronics to an old machine tool and that was all. No preparations were made for the production process and although somewhat updated, the machine tool remained essentially the same, poorly designed. Just think: a machine tool with ChPU without a waste pit. The operator would be operating this clumsy pile of machinery and pressing knobs and then take a shovel and sweep off the shavings. Some new equipment!"

Gavrilov spoke heatedly, with feeling. Was he exaggerating? No, even designers admitted that Gavrilov was essentially right.

Meanwhile, Gavrilov went on:

"We should have stopped, looked around and given some thought to the matter. But no, promises had already been made and reports had been submitted: the new machine tool will be made! Meanwhile, honestly, we were unwilling to assemble it, we were uneasy. We wanted a new machine which would enthuse the people. I wanted to assemble the brigade and say: boys, we are producing the best machine tool in the world and it is being sought everywhere! What can I say now, when our 'novelty' is being taken only because we are providing nothing else? All of us feel that with this type of a machine tool we have fallen behind substantially. The quality of individual parts could be improved, there is no problem here. But what about the quality of the tool?"

"In principle, Gavrilov is right," asserted Artur Markovich Itin, deputy chief designer at the plant. "Even now we could offer a first-rate model. But how to make it? We lack many advanced materials and the electronic systems are extremely poor. We receive parts from a hundred different plants. All of them must restructure their work, otherwise nothing will come of it. Although, frankly speaking, the machine tool we are producing today is no worse than similar machines produced elsewhere."

"Similar machines" means, in this case, something at the bottom of the scale in terms of consumer quality. Some consolation. Obviously, we must become accustomed to the fact that even references to "worldwide models" are no convincing proof. Furthermore why have we become accustomed to being pleased that something "is not worse than?" When can we say "is superior to?"

Naturally, the mere wish of being able to say this is not enough. The problem which was discovered at Krasnyy Proletariy indicates least of all the plant's unwillingness to produce first-rate equipment. The problem is multidimensional. Radical changes must be made in a number of economic sectors if it is to be solved. This is the nature of the seriousness and

difficulty of the acceleration of the country's economic development. However, there are various ways in perceiving the situation and, therefore, taking proper action.

Starting with this year, in many industrial enterprises throughout the country, including Krasnyy Proletariy, a system of state inspection of output was introduced. Without a question, the quality of the machine tools produced here will now improve. The first part of the problem which was indicated in the document drawn up by the commission which investigated the plan will, therefore, be dropped from the agenda. However, let us recall that this document also stipulates that the machine tools currently produced at Krasnyy Proletariy are "morally obsolete and, in terms of technical standards, and inferior to the latest contemporary foreign and domestic models...." Therefore, even if such machine tools have been ideally assembled and made of ideally manufactured parts, they will nevertheless remain morally obsolete and not in conformity with the latest contemporary foreign and domestic models. Is this the case? Unquestionably, yes.

At this point something else bothers me: Should the reasons for this situation be sought exclusively at Krasnyy Proletariy? As we know, the machine tools currently manufactured at the plant are included in the plan which is mandatory. This is on the one hand. On the other, are we not narrowing the problem by concentrating all efforts and our entire scientific, design and technological potential in a strictly limited research sector, the purpose of which is the creation of modern and progressive metal-cutting equipment, considering that such equipment leads to just about the most wasteful metal processing system. Look at what happens. Today only 24 percent of the overall output of metal processing equipment in the domestic machine-building industry consists of hammer-pressing tools. The remaining 76 percent consists of metal-cutting machine tools. Meanwhile, different and more economical technologies have already been developed and successfully applied, some of them in our country. Should this not be the area in which we must concentrate our main efforts and make it a strategic project? Actually, this should be the topic of a separate discussion. Let us go back to Krasnyy Proletariy.

This Is no Time to Waste Time

I heard this aphorism from one of the specialists at the Ivanovo Machine Tool Production Association imeni 50-Letiya SSSR. I recalled my visit to the Krasnyy Proletariy shops equipped, incidentally, with processing centers manufactured in Ivanovo. I was about to have my final discussion with our old acquaintance, Sergey Nikolayevich Sergeyev, and the new party committee secretary, Sergey Mikhaylovich Avtomonov. I asked them: Just forget that you are at Krasnyy Proletariy. Tell me, as engineers, do you agree with the harsh judgment passed by the commission? Is the plant following the proper way today?

Both the former and the present party committee secretaries answered: "No, we do not agree. Ours is the right way."

"This is the only right way," categorically said the deputy general director in charge of quality. "We turned around the entire industry with the production of ChPU-equipped machine tools and forced the plants to master the new equipment. I came to Krasnyy Proletariy 15 years ago. At that time the plant was converting to the production of machine tools of the 16K20 model, replacing the 1K62. Everything was very difficult. For several months the conveyer belt idled. I remember a silent semi-dark shop. Every day either a deputy minister or chief of a main administration would come here. But the workers learned! The same is happening today with ChPU machine tools. The workers are being abused for not having mastered their production properly."

I pointed out to Sergey Nikolayevich that, to a certain extent, we were speaking of different things. The fact that the mastery of new technology is virtually always paralleled by difficulties is understandable. But then the new technology itself may differ. For example, a mainline steam locomotive is unquestionable considered a new piece of equipment compared with a small steam locomotive. Both, however, are steam locomotives. A diesel locomotive and an electric locomotive, however, are of an entirely different quality.

"Our machine tools may have substantial shortcomings, but as long as large amounts of them are in demand we must keep producing them. I repeat, this is the only right way."

I told Sergey Nikolayevich that in Ivanovo an entirely different system had been adopted. The people there had begun to manufacture supermodern processing centers which, in terms of national economic efficiency, were vastly superior to ordinary machine tools. The people of Ivanovo apply the "production of the latest items" indicator. This may be interpreted as follows: first, not to update old models but to develop essentially new ones, with a productivity which is several hundred percent higher. Second, machine life should not exceed 7 years from the start of the designing. After 7 years it becomes obsolete. Third, it must be competitive on the markets of developed western countries. This was achieved in Ivanovo.

In the past I had written an essay on the Ivanovo machine-tool builders and met with the association's general director, Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaidze, now Hero of Socialist Labor. Kabaidze, I recall, heatedly claimed that there was a dialectical link between the recent nonfulfillment of the plan (which had indeed taken place!) and current successes.

"What they planned for us," he said, "was the production of ordinary machine tools. Instead of producing the equipment of yesterday, we undertook to produce processing centers, unparalleled in the country. This was not planned for you, we were told. Please follow orders!""

I then asked him: If you were to do it all over again, with the experience you have acquired, what would you avoid?

"I would have been able to save 5 years which were spent in promoting the new equipment and proving the need for it. Having weighed everything properly, we had to forge ahead regardless, to prove the advantages of the new machines with the help of the machines themselves. Yes, we could have fulfilled the

plan for the production of unnecessary machine tools and lead a tranquil and carefree life. In that case, however, the country would not have had the high quality processing centers it has today. Let me point out, incidentally, that many types of items can be produced only with our machines."

This sounds topical, does it not? However, Sergey Mikhaylovich Avtomonov, the party committee secretary, expressed his irritation with a gesture:

"Kabaide is using Japanese electronic equipment. It is easy for him to speak. Let him try to work with our own 'crates,' and see what he can do...."

This is neither here nor there. Krasnyy Proletariy has its pride and jealousy is unfitting. Furthermore, why emphasize Japanese electronics? Efforts were made to use such equipment at other plants as well and failed. Clearly, the people of Ivanovo can do more than simply install ChPU on their machines. They are simply producing items of an entirely different class.

This, precisely, is what makes the difference: Sergey Nikolayevich Sergeyev, for example, heatedly argued that as long as the machine tools currently produced by Krasnyy Proletariy are being bought, it means that they must be produced and that there is nothing to worry about. No less heatedly, Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaide argues differently: traditional ways and means of organizing the production of new equipment are unsuitable. The work must begin by discarding the principles of large-series output, which have become established on different levels and of which, incidentally, Krasnyy Proletariy is so proud.

Sergey Nikolayevich is convinced that one cannot climb a staircase by skipping steps. The current model of machine tools produced in the capital may not be perfect, he believes, but, in time, on its basis, on the basis of acquired experience, perhaps a new, more advanced machine tool will come out.

Kabaide believes differently: the essence is not to replace one machine tool with another. He emphasizes that what must be changed is the system of looking at the entire project and developing essentially new production facilities which could master any new design in 6 to 8 months. A continuing change of output must become, for such an enterprise, not a natural disaster but a work standard.

Sergey Mikhaylovich Avtomonov firmly defended his point of view. The Ivanovo people, he said, produce a few dozens of items whereas we count ours in the thousands!....

So, this was the crux of the matter! Why in the thousands? Are there so many consumers? And why are there so many consumers? We are considering the efficiency of the structure of our entire national economy. We not only think about it but are already doing a great deal, restructuring. This especially applies to production concentration, specialization and cooperation.

Again and again I can hear the heated voice of Yevgeniy Pavlovich Gavrilov, head of a fitters brigade of assembly shop No 1: "We would like to have a new machine, which would enhance the people's activities. I would gather around

the brigade and would say: Boys, we are producing the best machine tool in the world, which will be in demand in all countries! What can I say now?..."

I remembered an old discussion with Stanislav Yevgenyevich Gurychev, chief engineer at the special design bureau at the Ivanovo Association. At that time the design bureau was quite small, and salaries were no higher than those paid by the consumer service combine. There were virtually no possibilities of obtaining housing over the next 5 years. I asked Gurychev why people remained here?

"The job. It is big and interesting. We are competing with the leading machine-tool building companies in the world. We have largely outstripped them. Do you know what a standard chart is? Let me explain: it is a document in which the main parameters of our equipment are compared with the best such items produced anywhere else in the world. Usually, in order to justify their chart, the heads of design departments go to the head institute. Such is the custom. The only person we send is simply the designer. This too is included in the standard chart. I can affirm most responsibly that our ordinary designer is as good as a head designer and that our head designer could be a department chief or the chief engineer of any design bureau in the sector."

The last thing in the world I wanted was to pit against one-another the machine-tool builders in Moscow and Ivanovo. If such a pitting nevertheless occurred, let the people at Krasnyy Proletariy see nothing but my own effort at getting to the truth. In the final account, it is the work of the specialists to solve strictly technical problems. You must agree, however, that we did not delve in such problems especially. All I wanted was to understand the meaning of the words "special inspection system."

Nevertheless, although the discussion dealt with Krasnyy Proletariy in Moscow, let me end with another reference to Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaidze. I recall, one late evening, sitting in his office. Outside, the city was already asleep, a city which had become famous throughout the world not only for its cotton print. Kabaidze said: "Rembrandt painted something which one could admire a thousand years later. It never bores or becomes obsolete. Glory does not fade. What about us? Our destiny is different. Five years ago I admired a new machine tool. It was a miracle, not a machine! Now I look at it as a primitive item to be dumped. There are things in life which do not depend on time. It so happens that one must not fall behind one's time. The fate of machine-tool builders is different: they must be ahead of their time. But how to accomplish this is a different matter."

This was briefly and accurately put.

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PROPER ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 60-61

[Letter to the editors by A. Markova, doctor of economic sciences, and M. Solodkina, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] In our opinion, an obvious underestimating the place and role of economic history in our scientific arsenal has been noted in recent years. This became apparent, in particular, in the materials on a debate concerning the system of economic sciences published in the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI (Nos 8-12, 1985; Nos 1-4, 1986). Many participants in that discussion considered economic history a kind of "auxiliary" science, the development of which has allegedly no substantial influence on the development of economic theory as a whole. As to the organizational aspect of the matter, at the present time most of the USSR Academy of Sciences social science institutes--of general history, history of the USSR, world economics and international relations, oriental studies, Latin America and the United States and Canada--have no economic history departments or sectors. The only sector which studies the history of economic development of our country under the Soviet system is at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

Nor can the academic institutes of union republics deal with problems of economic history as a science, due to the scattered nature of scientific forces in this area, their small number and lack of coordination in their activities. Economic history is not a course taught by history departments. A shifting of emphasis from historical-economic processes to descriptive country studies is noted in the training of economists.

Yet the materialistic understanding of history, as developed in the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, implies, in addition to other matters, the profound study of the economic base of society in its historical aspect. It would be pertinent to recall Engels' words in describing Marx as a person "whose theory is the result of the study of economic history and the situation in England throughout his lifetime..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 34).

Economic history, based on the methodology and theory of Marxism, is a most important source of historical and economic knowledge. Without its study and further creative development, the analysis of contemporary processes and

forecast of socioeconomic development may turn out without any historical base, continuity or scientific honesty. This is a science which studies trials and errors and successes and failures in economic building and means of economic policy which may either promote progress or work against it. It also helps us to understand the social psychology of the masses, which is particularly relevant today, when it is a question of enhancing the human factor as the leading force of economic development.

We believe that by underestimating the role of economic history as a science and a training discipline, we are creating a gap in their conceptual accuracy and methodological mental discipline in historians and economists. Without the thorough scientific study of the general history of economic development (above all in our country) it is difficult comprehensively to develop a truly scientific concept of the mechanism of socialist economic management, which would be really scientific and consistent with the new conditions and requirements, or solve problems of shaping a contemporary style of economic thinking. The intensification of Marxist historical-economic analysis is a major factor in the struggle against bourgeois efforts to misrepresent the experience acquired by the countries of real socialism in building their economy.

Further progress in our social sciences and the need to bring them closer to practical requirements urgently call for revising our attitude toward the study and the teaching of economic history. In our view, the range of problems of a historical-economic nature should be broadened in VUZ history curriculums. Scientific studies should deal more extensively with developing the following aspects of the integral theory of the socioeconomic process: economic history of individual countries and areas, history of development of production forces and economic structures under different production methods, history of leading economic sectors and individual most important economic phenomena and economic policy. The results of such studies should be extensively and comprehensively reflected in the teaching of economic history in the higher schools.

A sciences which enjoys international status and recognition (let us recall that world congresses on economic history are being held at 5 year intervals) should assume a position consistent with its importance in our economic arsenal. To this effect, we believe that corresponding subdivisions should be set up within the USSR Academy of Sciences institutes and that coordination councils be established to link academic with VUZ science and ensure the publication of yearbooks on economic history.

[Editorial note] The editors turned to the USSR Academy of Sciences with a request for an opinion on the essence of these problems. Following is the answer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics, signed by Academician A.G. Aganbegyan.

The questions raised in this letter are both relevant and topical. The USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics agrees with the main views on the status of economic history as a science and its significance and possibilities of future development.

In addition to the other social sciences, political economy above all, economic history must play an important role in the scientific substantiation of party economic policy. The difficult problems raised by life and by the contemporary developments of socialism, above all those of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and restructuring economic management, must be refracted in historical research.

In order to enhance the role of economic history as a school subject and to train cadres of skilled economic historians, we should consider the matter of reinstituting the departments of economic history in economic institutes and economic departments of the country's universities, and teach the subject on the basis of a standard program approved by the USSR Minvuz. In our view, we must organize special courses and extensively use new training methods and broaden scientific relations with academic institutes.

The lack of contacts among scientific forces and their small number and lack of necessary coordination of scientific activities in this area are obvious. The virtually only sector teaching the history of the USSR national economy at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics is coordinating the work with academies of sciences of union republics and cooperating with the socialist countries. The republic academic institutes as well should develop this area of economic science. They should reinstitute corresponding sectors or groups.

Problems of economic history are in the thick of the ideological struggle. Without a profound study of economic history we cannot provide a scientific criticism of bourgeois misrepresentations of historical experience in the establishment and development of the socialist economy.

Considering the importance of the problems raised in the letter of A. Markova and M. Solodkina, it would be expedient to organize a broad discussion of the ways of solving such problems with the help of a coordination conference held by the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VUZ economic history departments throughout the country.

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CHANGES WITHIN MAN HIMSELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 62-64

[Article by V. Yegorov, candidate of historical sciences, Moscow; first of five articles by different authors under the overall title of "Problems and Arguments;" responses to the article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya]

[Text] [Editorial note] In the course of the debates on the human factor in the development of the economy and social justice and the interdependence of social development and economic growth, which was initiated with the article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya (No 13, 1986), in addition to a large number of letters, the editors have also received many articles and analytical works. Unquestionably, they are worthy of attention and will be reflected in this journal in one form or another. Following are several articles (abridged) which include either concepts not discussed as yet or merely mentioned briefly in the course of the debate.

The discussion which has developed in KOMMUNIST covers a broad range of problems, presented to a large extent in a new fashion. Since it is a question of the development of the economy and social justice, it is natural to concentrate on problems of production, distribution, consumption, social insurance, etc. The authors of articles already published in the course of this debate stipulate what should be done in order more actively to "enhance" the human factor and the necessary prerequisites to this effect. However, in this connection we must also consider the changes which must take place within the people themselves and the way the individual should feel in the course of the suggested changes. For in the final account man is the greatest asset of society and the main and only bearer of the phenomenon of the "human factor" (ignoring indirect relations and results). Society must know not only how someone will behave at work and his feelings as a consumer (which, in itself, is exceptionally important) but also the nature of his place in the implementation of the historically necessary restructuring.

Essentially, T.I. Zaslavskaya's article asks us to consider the conditions for utilizing the advantages of the new social system. I believe that the discussion of unstudied and controversial problems, as suggested by the editors, should be directed also toward the consideration of topical problems, such as broadening the self-governing principles of socialism, molding the person-owner at work and in the nonproduction area; scientifically

substantiating the creation of objective conditions for a better controlled effect of the subjective factor in the interest of the accelerated development of society; and paying constant attention to changes in man himself in the course of his historical development under the conditions of building socialism and communism. All of these are closely interrelated problems.

The task of achieving a new qualitative status in society requires, in our view, the fuller utilization of the already extant (but not entirely applied) incentives for the functioning of socialism and the real and full utilization of all reserves available to the socialist social system. One of the main problems here is the following: "Accountability and control," Lenin wrote in his "The State and Revolution," "is what is needed above all in 'organizing,' in the proper functioning of the first phase of the communist society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.' [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 101). As we know, what Lenin had in mind was a condition in which "this control would become truly universal, general, nationwide" (ibid). It is important for such nationwide accountability and control to become an organic structural component of the new economic mechanism, which would bind together the interests of the individual worker, the collective and society as a whole, and would ensure, in addition to other steps, the development and assertion of socialist and social justice. Ensuring it is one of the most important tasks within the entire developing system of people's socialist self-government.

We must emphasize that in this case it is not a question of going back to the past, of repeating past experience. Lenin linked to self-government by the people, in which the masses "would indeed govern" and provide comprehensive and strict control, the possibility of the transition from the first to the higher phase of communism (see Ibid, p 102). Therefore, this task is both entirely current as well as aimed at the future.

Also topical is a more profound interpretation of the entire depth of the link between said Leninist views and problems of the level of development and ways of enhancing the human factor. Lenin contemplated a situation in which a "deviation from such nationwide accountability and control would inevitably be so incredibly difficult and such an extremely rare exception and would be probably accompanied by such fast and severe penalties..., that the need to observe the simple and basic rules governing any human community would very soon become habit" (ibid). Obviously, however, at a certain stage in its development, views predominated in society according to which such conversion into a habit had already been allegedly completed. Today, however, we have seen particularly clearly that, unfortunately, this is not as yet the case. Furthermore, here it is a question not only of reassessing the level of development of conscientiousness but also of straight anticipation, motivated by the desire to achieve such a high status in shaping the new man without providing a large number of mandatory prerequisites. For Lenin spoke of the imminent transformation of necessity into habit as being applicable to the type of society in which everyone would learn how to govern and to govern truly, when society itself would be ready to convert to communism. Therefore, attention must be focused on the more thorough and realistic approach to the creation of conditions which alone could ensure the corresponding functioning of the human factor and the necessary growth of the human potential.

I especially support the leitmotif in the thoughts of Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya: adopting a new approach to objectives and means of attaining them, based on both wishes and possibilities. Equally important is the theoretical and practical need to surmount the one-sided and misshaped concept (quite widespread) of the meaning itself of intensified people's socialist self-government. The opinion still prevails in labor collectives and, as a whole in some areas, that it is a question of transferring some administrative functions to self-governing authorities. If such is the case, the framework within which the self-governing bodies should operate becomes clear. Almost equally clear is the extent of their possible "intervention" in solving one problem or another. Therefore, the entire matter is reduced to drafting new instructions based on old experience. That is why, we believe, calls to develop self-government remain largely ineffective. S.S. Shatalin is right by relating to this problem the specific "economic" problem of creating and using a motivational mechanism which would stimulate highly efficient work. This problem is as much economic as it is political and moral.

In the final account, many problems of upgrading the efficiency of public production, perfecting the distribution system, broadening socialist democracy and enhancing the human factor are focused on shaping and developing in the working people on all levels an interested attitude toward their work and creating conditions in which the person would really feel himself as an owner and gradually learn to act only as such. Numerous studies confirm major shortcomings in this area and the absence of a differentiated approach to the development of capabilities and incentives for a proprietary attitude toward the work, depending on the socioprofessional status of the workers and their age, experience, job seniority, etc.

Today societal needs and scientific possibilities have merged also in the fact that the creation of sociological programs for the study of processes occurring within the human factor itself in the course of the historical change of generations under socialist conditions becomes urgent and relevant. A scientifically governed society should know the stage and circumstances in which some features of individuals and entire professional and social groups and classes change, and the qualities identifying the young, middle and senior generations, as they change within the historical system of coordinates, what they take with them into the future, what they change and what those who are only entering life reject. In this respect some successes have been achieved by sociologists who study intergenerational socioprofessional changes. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the sum total of parameters of the way of life of the people and their needs, interests and values. What we need is not a spontaneous appeal which, furthermore, involves disparate methods, but lengthy observations which would take decades to complete. Without such a program and without conclusions based on such scientific studies we can no longer imagine today, not to mention tomorrow, any work which would prevent many social science sectors from becoming alienated from practical work.

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THE NEED TO WORK: ROLE AND DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by I. Sigov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISEP, doctor of economic sciences, Leningrad]

[Text] As the well-being of the people improves (increased family income, development of private auxiliary plots, more leisure time and its use for earning additional income), unexpectedly at first the problem of preserving the role of the need to work within the framework of state of cooperative production, as the main condition for survival, becomes urgent. The solution of this problem unquestionably presumes the better organization of the production and wage systems in the public economy. In the course of the study conducted in 1986 by associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems at four enterprises in six Latvian cities, nearly three-quarters of respondents (who included the majority of people who, in their own view, work quite intensively) said that they could significantly improve results by working at full strength if such labor would be properly rewarded. The majority considered production organization a reserve (for the present) more significant than technical retooling (here and subsequently data of sociological studies made by personnel of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems B.D. Parygin, Ye.G. Slutskiy, V.G. Karpov, N.V. Golubeva, V.I. Devyatkin and O.V. Sukhanov are used).

The development of the brigade contracting order at state and cooperative enterprises and the use of the family contract in kolkhozes and sovkhozes (in particular, the regular assessment by all collectives of individual activities, and determining the coefficient of labor participation acquire great incentive value) offer major opportunities for improving the organization of production and labor. The reverse is equally important: the viability of the brigade forms of labor organization is largely determined by the condition of the socioeconomic climate in the collectives. According to our data, psychological readiness for work on the basis of a single contract doubles precisely wherever such a climate proves to be more favorable.

Studies made in recent years also emphasize the following: the role of the factor of self-assertion in the attitude of the person toward his job becomes significantly greater. Thus, two-thirds of the respondents surveyed in several scientific-production associations in Leningrad consider the

assessment and acknowledgment of their work and personal qualities a necessary prerequisite for successful work. Clearly, the practical implementation of the Law on Labor Collectives is very important in the development of this requirement. It broadens their rights in perfecting wages and bonuses and in the use of incentive funds. It is thus that the socialist collective becomes a reliable defender and promoter of social justice. However, we cannot fail to see that the possibilities of labor collectives in terms of management are frequently used quite insufficiently. For example, three-quarters of the workers surveyed at a Leningrad construction trust do not know the meaning of the development of socialist self-government in a collective. Here there is no system for accounting, analyzing and implementing suggestions or recommendations; officials do not publicly report on their work. The right of the labor collective to participate in the solution of personnel problems is used sporadically and only by the primary unit (the brigade). The people are poorly informed of the results of activities, the reasons for losses and steps taken against discipline violators.

Increasing openness in the work with letters and suggestions submitted by the working people directly in labor collectives assumes great importance. It would be expedient to broaden the functions of brigade councils, for example, and consider with their participation the social significance of letters and petitions addressed to superior authorities. Naturally, this would lower the number of all kinds of outside commissions and working time losses related to such activities, and increase the responsibility of the collectives themselves on decisions based on a specific letter.

We believe that in the course of the debate sponsored by this journal, particular mention should be made of developing the need to work as an activity valuable for its own sake. Improved technological facilities create the necessary prerequisites for freeing the person from direct subordination to the work of machinery and to strengthening his functions as a "controller," "supervisor," etc. However, essentially assessments of the results of scientific and technical progress are still not adequately reflecting indicators of social results--above all changes in labor conditions and enrichment of its content, related to improving the social quality jobs.

Let us point out that the existing classification of jobs characterizes them essentially from the economic viewpoint: in terms of level of mechanization, they are classified into automated, mechanized and manual; in terms of machines serviced, they may be single- or multiple-machine-tool jobs. They are also classified into specialized and general-purpose work places. An assessment of their social quality would enable us to concretize the solution of a number of social problems and, above all, to improve cadre training.

Practical experience indicates that individuals lacking adequate capabilities or the mental qualities needed for one type of job or another, not only master their skill over a much longer period and with greater difficulties, compared to others, but also work less well, make errors more frequently, are responsible for accidents, etc. In this connection the statements by P.M. Kerzhentsev, author of many works on the scientific organization of labor, are of interest. "When they say that someone is a poor worker," he wrote, "most frequently this means that the person has been given a job he is unable to

perform. We should consider more carefully what he can do and the type of work he likes best, and transfer him to a more suitable job" (P.M. Kerzhentsev, "Printsipy Organizatsii. Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Organizational Principles. Selected Works]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1968, p 399).

Planning the social development of labor collectives, sectors and regions plays a very significant role in the development of labor activities. In recent years, plans for comprehensive economic and social development have been reflecting, more or less extensively, steps taken to improve nonproduction living conditions. However, it is important to strengthen within such plans the creation of conditions which would develop the need to work and all necessary motivations. The trade union organizations should intensify their participation in the formulation of such plans, particularly those related to the content and conditions of labor. The role of the trade unions in solving such problems is determined also by the fact that enterprise administrations and collectives are by no means always interested in closing down jobs with harmful working conditions, for under the existing situation the people receive significant compensations in different manners; to the administration this means an additional guarantee of retaining their cadres.

The planning of social development on all levels requires greater differentiation among sociodemographic groups (young people, people of pre-pension or pension age, and migrants); particular attention should be paid to vocational guidance. Specialists are coming to the conclusion that a unified state system for vocational guidance and cadre selection is needed, operating on the basis of fundamental socioeconomic, educational, psychological and medical-biological studies.

The scientific substantiation of social development plans may be improved as a result of the formulation of comprehensive targets programs, which has been initiated in a number of oblasts (krays, republics) and in the large cities in the country, such as "labor," "labor and cadres," and others. For the time being such programs are not sufficiently comprehensive. Essentially, their target is limited to reducing manual labor and to a purely industrial approach to the problem. Yet is only a view of labor as both a factor of production and a condition for the development of the personality and the basis of a socialist way of life that can yield the necessary economic and social results needed in solving acceleration problems. The entire set of regional scientific and technical, organizational, economic, legal and other steps aimed at developing the need to work should play an important part in such programs.

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THE PROBLEM OF CADRES AND THEIR CAPABILITIES

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[Article by V. Rotan, docent, Belgorod Cooperative Institute, Belgorod]

[Text] The impression created by T.I. Zaslavskaya's article is that it does not fully interpret the concepts of social justice. It briefly mentions cadre placement and transfers within the public production system and the absence of a mechanism for providing an efficient solution of this problem. The emphasis is mainly on distribution problems. Consequently, justice is viewed as "encouragement and comprehensive support" of some social groups and social control and economic regulation of the situation of others.

We believe, however, that priority should be given to the problem of assigning people in the system of the social organization of labor, according to their capabilities. If social justice is not honored in this matter (consistency between the person's capabilities and the requirements of the job or position), it would be simply impossible to achieve justice in distribution relations. This matter cannot be reduced to shifting the emphasis in the article under discussion. In practical terms as well, as a rule, the attention is focused on eliminating the elements of injustice in the system of distribution relations. The question of ensuring social equality in relations related to the assignment of people within the system of the social organization of labor remains in the background. The system of distribution of goods is supervised by a large number of state agencies and violations of the law are punished strictly. As to distribution within the system of the social organization of labor, such problems are only incidentally regulated by laws and the use of liability measures is practically possible only in cases involving bribery. Even today, when everyone is talking about the restructuring (sincerely or, possibly, hypocritically) the question of filling a vacancy remains the prerogative of an extremely small range of people. Yet the prime condition for ensuring justice in this respect is the daily study of cadres.

Today such studies are either not conducted at all or else are conducted sporadically although most of them could be assumed by the cadre departments of associations and enterprises. The latter, to begin with, however are small; secondly, they are not staffed with people who can solve such problems, for which reason in the majority of cases they perform primarily bookkeeping

functions. On the town or oblast scale little attention is paid to work with people and to the study of their political, practical and moral qualities. This precisely is the reason for major errors in the selection of cadres.

This situation clashes with social justice: The number of applicants for a given position is frequently limited to people who know somebody directly involved with the matter. An important problem such as this one should no longer be ignored. We can no longer let the people themselves to decide primarily or entirely by themselves problems of finding jobs they consider best suited to their capabilities, or grant promotions based not on the quantity and quality of labor but on the energy invested in seeking such jobs.

Making information on existing job and position openings available is a very important step for ensuring the appointment of people within the system of the social organization of labor consistent with their capabilities. All available means of ensuring an objective solution to the problem of hiring must be used. Promising trends in this case are the development of competitive hiring. However, we must not simply engage in applying superficially democratic methods. Thus, in recent years the competitive method has frequently turned into a strictly formal procedure and a means of additional pressure exerted by an administration on a worker. The manager is the first person who must sign a character reference. The councils of VUZs and scientific research institutions are nothing other than meetings of their leading personnel. The possibility of making a subjective decision in the case of appointing or reappointing people to positions based on competition is strengthened by the interdependence among the members of the council: they periodically reelect one another. The result is that in its present aspect the competition system have virtually no noticeable effect on the deployment of people within the system of the social organization of labor and, frequently, concealing behind collective leadership, strengthens authoritarianism in problems of hiring or firing working people.

In our view, the competition system must be radically improved and conditions must be created for the participation of anyone who applies, and for selecting the best candidate.

Expanding the principle of electivity for leading positions is of essential significance. We must not fear their increased dependence on the labor collective. Such "dependence" is a necessary prerequisite for trusting a manager. The confidence of a worker in management, in turn, contributes to the fullest possible use of the creative labor potential of an individual.

In the present cadre assignment system, observing the principle of promoting people within the system of the social organization of labor based on their ability is particularly important in ensuring social justice. Present labor legislation is based on the principle of stable labor legal relations. Yet the structure of social labor steadily changes under the influence of technical improvements in the production process and in the organization of labor. The abilities of the people also change as a result of increased skills, production experience, state of health, etc. Correspondingly, steady work is necessary regarding specific selection of cadres and their transfer within the public production system. These steps are important not only at

enterprises and associations but also in sectors and in the territorial organization of society. Everyone must have the opportunity of competing against other working people and proving with his labor his right to perform more difficult and responsible work.

The suitable appointment of personnel within the system of the social organization of labor is the first and most important prerequisite for the implementation of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress on accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. Consequently, it must be strictly supervised by party and state authorities in order maximally to restrict or even exclude entirely cases of improper use of people in jobs and positions. Otherwise any restructuring of the economic mechanism and the social area will be inconsistent and fail to yield expected results.

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TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 69-71

[Article V. Bugromenko, candidate of geographic sciences, Irkutsk]

[Text] The article "The Human Factor in the Development of the Economy and Social Justice" convincingly describes the result of the purposeful utilization of this factor. One of the conditions for its functionality is equity in terms of territorial differentiation. In extending T.I. Zaslavskaya's thought, we could say that with a high capital-labor ratio the "cost" of the human factor increases not only "directly" (inadequate skills, irresponsible attitude toward the work, etc.), but also indirectly, through the territorial conditions of activities of the working people, manifested in two areas: production conditions (my enterprise or kolkhoz may be in a better position territorially as the result of an error made in planning its location, for instance) and residential conditions (my home and job are inconveniently located).

As a result, we come across the phenomenon, if one may describe as such, of "territorial" injustice, which is a conflict between the existence of material benefits, as a whole entirely adequate (per 10,000 population, for example) and their scarcity in some areas. Under socialist conditions, this contradiction is nonantagonistic. However, this is not to say that it must not be studied and solved on time.

In general, such contradictions are the result of historical circumstances. Earlier, during the first 5-year periods, and the postwar dislocation and restoration of the economy, we were in no position to consider the "fine points" of the territorial organization of the spatial-physical environment as we would describe it today. The territorial organization factor becomes relevant as a result of the saturation of a given territory with material projects: it is only then that choices in terms of location and the territorially complementary nature of various projects become apparent.

The territorial organization of production facilities and settlements began to play a greater part starting with the 1960s. However, the answer provided by economic geographers, who traditionally deal with "placement" problems and by regional economics experts was inadequate, for efforts were made to study the new situation on the basis of the old methodical knowledge. The individual

location of large and, as a rule, one-sector projects, which took place during the first 5-year periods, particularly in the new (but now already developed) areas, was replaced by an essentially different situation: in an area saturated with enterprises of different sectors we must assess the systemic reactions to appearing or shifting material benefits (assets, people, natural sites). In other words, we need a systematic evaluation of the quality of an area or of the territorial organization of the spatial-physical environment on the regional level.

People want and have the right to hope that the conditions under which they work could be improved. Although for the time being we cannot control the biosphere to the necessary extent and are forced to "pay" for adverse weather conditions with their economic equivalent (such as rayon wage coefficients), we can control socioeconomic qualities, unlike those of nature.

But are we able to equalize the socioeconomic conditions of human activities? My suggested answer is that yes, we are, for standards governing available facilities exist, such as projects which are part of the socio-consumer infrastructure, etc. But here is a situation: take two neighboring rayons with identical amounts of arable land, equipment, mechanisms, hospital beds and cadre skills, not to mention equal natural conditions; in one of them, however, all central farmsteads and departments of agricultural enterprises are located along paved roads, whereas in the other they may be 5, 7 or 9 kilometers away from such roads (assuming that the length of paved roads in both is the same). A comparison between indicators of the two rayons would reveal major disparities, both economic (crop yields, etc.) and social (cadre turnover, etc.). The people in these rayons live and work under unequal socioeconomic circumstances.

The question may be formulated in broader terms: man-made projects on a given territory create, at any given moment, specific conditions governing their interaction; they provide some sections within this territory new socioeconomic features. If a road or bridge is built and if the mining of a quarry or the operation of a plant has been undertaken, conditions for interaction between these and previously created facilities change immediately, in some cases insignificantly and in other substantially. How to reflect and measure this dynamic balance of features within a regional system? This is achieved through the systemic characteristics of the territory, such as accessibility, contrasting differences, etc.

Let us illustrate this thought by taking as an example the territory of a city, which is particularly densely saturated with such projects. The comprehensive plan for the socioeconomic development of a city may include in its "transportation" section the following proposals: build a 12-kilometer long streetcar track, six stops, etc. Such assignments suit the production organizations in which estimates of resources are based on kilometers of length; however, nothing here is said about the final purpose of such transportation development. What the people need may not be a few kilometers of streetcars but new qualities of the territory which would be the result of such a development: improved accessibility and thus shortening the time spent in various travels. But where have you seen a plan for

socioeconomic development that would stipulate reducing the average time spent in commuting to the job by, say, 7 minutes by the year 1990?

Therefore, in planning the socioeconomic development of any region, whatever its level, we must standardize indicators which would reflect the end conditions of activities, on a specifically target-oriented basis: we must invest funds not only in sectors of the transportation system in which handling capabilities have been exhausted but also where freight and passenger traffic is light but where improving the road system would provide better and, if possible, equal opportunities for work; we would thus implement the principle of social justice in its territorial manifestation and create better conditions for guiding the economic behavior of the people.

Understanding the need for taking territorial "equality" into consideration has resulted, in rayon planning in particular, in the development of maximal ranges of accessibility of sociocultural enterprises. We find in political economy the term rental based on location, the purpose of which is to reflect the unequal status of individual areas. However, its main purpose is above all that of meeting the production requirements of the agricultural sector and not all areas of activities. It would be desirable, in this connection, to link the characterization of the qualities of individual areas to rental relations within a broader context and to relate such features to end results of economic activities.

That which we consider today the territorial aspect of social justice in terms of the systemic features of a territory essentially constitutes a new stage in solving problems related to the socioeconomic evaluation of economic-geographic location. The ability efficiently to determine and regulate the socioeconomic quality of individual sites and entire territories is the base of economic-geographic monitoring (a system of continuous study of circumstance, in this case of the economic-geographic environment).

Assessments of socioeconomic qualities of a given territory could and should become an important structural component of the process of the actualization of the human factor in economic development. T.I. Zaslavskaya justly notes changes in the target of management--the socially developed person. The impression arises that for the time being the social development of the working people (increased educational standards, culture and legal and individual self-awareness) is outstripping the conditions of this development. In the course of the social processes within complex systems, such an outstripping may be noted in the initial stages. Soon afterwards, however, such an "upheaval" if not supported by corresponding conditions under which it would develop into a more stationary process, a standard, would abate. One of the basic means of preventing any decline in the growth rates of the social maturity of the working people and, therefore, upgrading the significance of the human factor, is creating a proper spatial-physical environment.

The adoption of a constructive approach to the solution of such problems involves the development of the theory of reliability of the territorial organization of socialist society. Its purpose is to maintain the type of dynamic balance within the systemic features of the territory in which the supreme objectives of our society could be achieved, including the principle

of social justice in its territorial aspect. Economic-geographic monitoring, which is similar to the geoinformation systems, currently extensively developed in the West but distinguished in terms of the objectives related to the laws governing socialism, should become the methodical instrument for the implementation of this theory.

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SIMILARITY BETWEEN VILLAGE AND CITY

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[Article by G. Morozov, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, Ural Scientific Center, candidate of economic sciences, Sverdlovsk]

[Text] I would like to discuss a major unsolved problem which hinders the elimination of differences in socioeconomic living conditions of the population in town and country.

As we know, in recent years the party and the government have paid closest possible attention to agriculture. Production returns are increasing with particular speed as a result of improvements in the social features in the living conditions of the people, housing above all. This usually lowers cadre turnover and increases their satisfaction with rural life, stabilizes production collectives and eliminates the need to recruit citizens for so-called sponsorship help. Naturally, this indicates a need for the fastest possible utilization of this factor of increased production efficiency. Statistics prove that in cities and worker settlements of the RSFSR the share of state-owned housing (with almost full conveniences) accounts for more than 77 percent of all housing assets; public organizations and house-building cooperatives account for nearly 6 percent; the remainder is privately owned by the citizens. The ratios in the countryside show the opposite. Although the indicators of the availability of overall residential space per rural resident is somewhat higher than in the city, the levels of communal facilities are substantially different: the town is superior to the village in terms of facilities, as follows: by a 2.4 factor for running water; 2.8 for central heating; 3.1 for sewer lines; 3.4 for bathtubs; 5.6 for hot water and no more than 1.2 for availability of gas or electric cooking ranges.

The main reason for such disparities is the high percentage of private houses without amenities in the countryside. In addition to differences in the level of satisfaction of needs for communal services, the cost of construction and maintenance of housing by owners of private homes is, according to some assessments, higher by a factor of 7-8 compared with families living in state-owned housing. The so-called "private owners" have also high outlays of nonworking time spent in servicing requirements which are met in state-owned housing by the communal economy enterprises, which offer their services to

consumers at a lesser cost and without requiring the tenant's efforts and time. This is a major aspect of social injustice.

The point is that the construction and partial exploitation of state housing are financed out of social consumption funds which must also compensate for some socioeconomic disparities among citizens with different living conditions. Benefits and payments from such funds are a substantial addition to wages and, together with wages, constitute the real population income. It is precisely in the case of people who live in "private" (as well as cooperative) housing that such payments are curtailed, although the national wealth is created by all working people, wherever they happen to live.

Naturally, we must not reject individual and cooperative forms of improving population housing conditions. Furthermore, the state must always be ready to offer the citizens who wish to build such housing all the necessary opportunities, efficiently allocating, in exchange for private income, the necessary economic resources. However, we must also consider the fact that the constitutional right to housing is equally guaranteed to all categories of citizens in the country. That is why the intensified construction of housing in the villages financed with state funds is also important.

Nevertheless, the planning and economic authorities are still not in a hurry to do this. Furthermore, we detect an orientation on their part toward the use of the individual income of the rural population for purposes of improving its housing conditions. One can hardly agree with the usual reason that building individual and cooperative housing in the rural areas will keep cadres on their jobs. It is precisely the lack of housing with proper amenities and good cultural and living conditions and, particularly, the forced need to meet many individual needs at one's own expense, compared with the urban residents, that leads to migration from country to town. In the town the former rural resident acquires real opportunities eventually to improve his housing conditions at no cost to himself.

If we make no investments and consider this the equivalent of saving, desired results will not be obtained. Why is it suddenly that housing in the country has become a strictly private matter? The people everywhere require special concern for their needs, for they are our main wealth and main production force. Today it is important to show real attention on the part of the state to the rural resident and provide in the countryside not only living conditions equal to those of the city but, in some respects, even superior to the latter. At the same time we must bring order, strengthen the discipline and improve the economic incentive of those who do the work. This would positively influence the efficiency of agricultural output.

Obviously, the "migration" of capital investments for nonproduction purposes from town to country should begin precisely with housing construction. This should not be an "urban-type" architecture but construction based on the specific features of a rural way of life: farming the private plot, a higher birthrate, need for reliable transportation services in larger and smaller villages, etc. If possible, such housing should provide maximum communal conveniences, which would require the opening of branches of communal services in the countryside.

Possibly, at the initial stages in the implementation of such a program, rural housing may turn out to be more expensive than urban. However, the mass standardization of construction in the countryside and the elimination of the major socioeconomic disparities in living conditions and thus increasing returns from agriculture will, in the course of time, eliminate such cost disparities. This is convincingly confirmed by the practical experience of frontranking farms.

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PRIVATE LABOR IN A CONTEMPORARY SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 74-82

[Article by Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, KOMMUNIST political observer, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The Law on Individual Labor Activity, which will become effective as of May 1987, has triggered heightened interest in our country and abroad. The reasons for this law and the ways of its implementation were the topic of a talk published in KOMMUNIST No 18 for 1986, which included a legal expert, a research economist and a finance worker. Many practical questions have been asked also by those in charge of the execution of the new law by virtue of their official duties as well as those who intend to engage in some labor activity on the basis of the law and those who hope to benefit from the results of their labor.

However, questions of a different nature arise as well. Such a large-scale and bold decision cannot fail to trigger basic questions, both theoretical and political. Such questions have been formulated in foreign comments as well: interested questions asked by our friends, questions asked by simply objective observers and, on the other hand, enemy fabrications claiming some kind of recognition of the advantages of private-ownership production.

Let us recall the year 1973, when the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the creation of associations in Soviet industry was promulgated. The American press reacted immediately: the Soviets are following our way and creating concerns, as those under capitalism. It turned out that, whatever we may be doing, whether developing large-scale or petty production facilities, everything was interpreted as a "return to capitalism." The same was written about us also after the decision pertaining to the 1965 economic reform was promulgated, and at an even earlier time, in 1921. Monotonous superficial comments of this type hardly deserve any detailed analysis. We know quite well that the new law does not change the socialist nature of ownership in our country. We also remember the old familiar stipulation of Marxist-Leninist science to the effect that petty-commodity production (which, incidentally, was not invented by capitalism but existed long before it) has never played an independent role in any social system. It has been subordinated to the predominant production method, supplementing it and, one way or another, becoming part of it.

To us this is clear. However, the current law raises other more important questions which we both wish and must interpret for our own sake.

How to correlate this decision with the concept, familiar to us from the works of Marx and subsequently repeatedly confirmed, regarding the advantages of large-scale production? What does it have in common with the new economic policy of the 1920s? How to coordinate it with the long-term trend of increasing the share of public production in the national economies of socialist countries? What is the place of the new law in the process of the overall restructuring of the economic mechanism? Finally, how to coordinate private production with the moral and ideological stipulation of a communist future, which will never be abandoned by socialist society?

Our preference for large-scale production has nothing to do with fetishism. We value it not because we have taken a vow but because, as a rule, it is more efficient than small-scale output and only if it is indeed more efficient. In studying this matter, based on capitalist data, Marx wrote: "All other conditions being equal, the low cost of a commodity depends on labor productivity and the latter depends on the scale of output. That is why big capital conquers small capital" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 640). This stipulation, common to different systems, has been repeatedly noted by V.I. Lenin as well and used under socialism in a planned and conscious basis. It remains entirely valid today. Its significance even increases to the extent to which the scale of the funds needed for building and operating largest possible projects with contemporary equipment and latest technology, based on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, increase. Furthermore, Marx's stipulation of "all other conditions being equal," which must be carefully interpreted, also remains entirely valid. The question of how to determine the scale of output and the size of "capital" has always been difficult to answer. Taking all this into consideration, the stipulation of the advantages of large-scale production should be understood more as an indication of a dominant trend than as a ready-made incontestable answer to any specific question.

Usually, difficulties in the interpretation of this law today are related to the fact that as public production becomes more complex and as the variety of specific circumstances increases, the consideration of "all other conditions" (which in reality are most frequently not all that equal) becomes increasingly difficult. In addition to equipment productivity, production efficiency is frequently influenced, sometimes also determined, by market, natural and social factors. The latter must be considered particularly closely in assessing individual production efficiency.

As early as the 1920s and, above all, in V.I. Lenin's works, the objective reasons for the existence and utilization of petty-commodity production during the transitional period and the extent of its economic and social efficiency and the accurate policy of the socialist state concerning the private sector in town and country, were convincingly brought to light. To the Soviet system at a time when the overwhelming majority of the population lived on the land and the main economic power was in the hands of private farmers, strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry was a problem of life or death. The interest of this union was determined, above all, by admitting

private capital in industry and trade: the economic demands of the peasants had to be met immediately. State and cooperative industry and trade, however, were too weak to accomplish this task satisfactorily.

Even this short historical note proves that in industrially developed socialist countries the use of private labor activity is dictated today by essentially different reasons compared to the land of the soviets during the NEP and that its socioeconomic content is different.

This fact does not lower in the least the relevant significance to us of Lenin's new economic policy. Its relevance today, however, is manifested in another area which, actually, is much more important than private production. This applies, above all, to the historical example--an example of tremendous political daring which was displayed by the Bolshevik Party in realizing the need for a sharp turn in policy. Our party demonstrated its loyalty to the Leninist approach by adopting the line of the April plenum, which was extensively developed at the 27th Congress. Furthermore, it includes the relevance of the experience in economic management which was gained during the NEP not in terms of petty commodity but of state and cooperative large-scale production.

At that time V.I. Lenin wrote: "In particular, today free trade and capitalism are allowed and are developing, subject to state control; on the other hand, state enterprises are being converted to so-called cost accounting...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 342). It is this "other side" that marked at that time the beginning of the establishment of the first socialist economic mechanism in history, based on combining enterprise cost accounting with centralized planned management, which determined the most general features of all subsequent economic systems of the new society. It was precisely then that the term "cost accounting" was born. It was precisely then that total, uncurtailed cost accounting was applied in enterprise activities.

Lenin's methodology applied in the study of the motive forces of real socialization and the ways of their utilization remains effective and necessary today. Such a vast topic cannot be covered fully in a journal article. Nor is this necessary, for it has been the subject of many scientific works. In terms of the range of problems under consideration, it would be useful to recall one specific statement. At the 10th Party Congress, V.I. Lenin addressed himself to the failed attempts "in the course of which people brimming with good intentions and desire went to the countryside to organize communes and collectives, although they were unable to manage...." V.I. Lenin said: "The solution of this problem in terms of the small farmer and of improving, so to say, his entire mentality is possible only on a material foundation, with the help of equipment and the use of tractors and machinery in agriculture on a mass scale...." (op cit., vol 43, p 60). Today's private production in countries which laid the foundations for socialism a long time ago raises other problems. In their solution, however, to this day the strict consideration of the actual development of the material foundation for production and social relations based on this fact remain a strict law.

Many authors have questioned whether the tremendous creative potential accumulated under V.I. Lenin's leadership in operating a cost accounting economic mechanism was made fully applied in the 1930s and subsequently. This is an important question and the substantiated answer to it must be provided by science, because the study of our own historical experience is an inseparable element of the "know thyself" element which is required by socialist society in order to advance further. Whatever the assessment of the past may be, however, it will not relieve the science and practice of economics of the obligation to engage in innovative surging today. There cannot even be a question of a simple return to the solution of old problems with old methods. Entire eras have changed in our socioeconomic development since the 1920s. One way or another, at a greater or lesser cost, the country solved problems on a historical scale and is facing the solution of problems which are quantitatively and qualitatively different from the old ones. In this case the experience of the NEP is a rich mine of economic wisdom and not a collection of ready-made recipes.

If this applies to large-scale socialist production, which existed then and exists now, steadily developing, it applies to an even greater extent to private labor activities, which came to an end a long time ago as we knew them in the 1920s. Actually, we are facing a new phenomenon and science must answer a relatively new question: that of the reasons, factors and limits of the efficiency of individual and petty-cooperative production existing in some countries which have completed laying the foundations for socialism and created a powerful material base for a socialist economy.

Until recently this problem remained relatively ignored by the science of economics, for the simple reason that life itself did not provide data for its formulation. Starting with the second half of the 1970s, new facts appeared in the economic life of several countries and efforts to ignore them or else to classify the new phenomenon on the basis of scientific and political assessments relative to other phenomena which had existed in the past made no contributions to science, economic practice or social policy.

A new trend in the changing correlation between state-cooperative and petty-commodity production was noted in recent years in some economically most developed CEMA members (judging by their national income, industrial and agricultural output and real per capita income), such as Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Let us note that laws which allowed the use of individual and small-group labor are now on the books in all European CEMA countries and in Yugoslavia. In Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia the law bans the use of hired labor. In the other countries, this is allowed in strictly limited amounts. Furthermore, until recently there were no facts to refute the concept that as the socialist economy develops and strengthens the share of petty-commodity production invariably declines, until it vanishes altogether. The situation in Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia changed after a long period of time, and the fast growth of the share of the state and cooperative sectors in which, judging by correlation data, the share of petty-commodity output was insignificant and the end of its life appeared imminent. In the main material production sectors the same situation prevails to this day. Thus, in 1985 petty commodity accounted for no more than 1.4 percent of industrial output, 0.7 percent of agricultural output and 1.8 percent of

retail trade in Hungary. The respective figures were 2.1, 6.5 and 11.3 for the GDR; in Czechoslovakia, it accounted for only 3 percent in agriculture. However, considering the national income as a whole, in recent years the ratios have stabilized and even somewhat changed in favor of petty-commodity output. The share of the latter in Hungary's national income was, according to the latest data, 5.5 percent (1.9 percent in 1975); it was 3.3 percent in the GDR (4.1 percent in 1975 and 3.3 percent in 1983), and 0.6 percent in Czechoslovakia (0.5 percent in 1975). As we see, this is not much and the question is not one of the share per se but changes in the trend and expectations of its decline.

In the case of the Soviet Union, adequate statistical data on such processes are unavailable as yet. Considering the lack until recently of an expanded legal, economic and organizational regulation of individual labor activity, many individuals actually engaged in such activities worked without permission, registration and taxation. However, substantial indirect data proved that such processes are occurring in our country as well. In reporting to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the draft bill, I.I. Gladkiy, USSR State Committee for Labor chairman, said that currently the number of known individuals engaged in all kinds of private labor activity (other than agriculture) is about 100,000. "Nevertheless," the speaker said, "a variety of data of selective studies indicate that their number is substantially higher." Let us recall that approximately 16 million square meters of private housing is built in the country every year. This is more than housing built by cooperatives and kolkhozes combined. Meanwhile, there are virtually no state organizations contracting with private housebuilders. Not many housebuilders are familiar with all aspects of housebuilding and most of them hire builders on a private basis. Obviously, construction work worth billions of rubles is being done through this method every year. In turn, housebuilding is only one of the 29 types of individual labor activity stipulated in the new law.

What halted the long trend of decline in the role of individual labor activity? Paradoxical though this might seem, this was due to the historical accomplishments of socialism and its successes in the social area and in improvements in people's lives.

A study has indicated that the use of petty-commodity production in the early stage of building socialism (when its scale was initially significant but rapidly declining) and under contemporary conditions in economically developed countries which completed laying the foundations for socialism a long time ago (when the share of the petty-commodity sector remains small but stable) is explained not only by different but, essentially, also opposite reasons. Whereas under the conditions of early socialism this was explained by the insufficient material base of the socialist sector, today it is caused by the fast growth of the material living standard of the population and the mass manifestation of greater needs. Large-scale output is not suited to meet some such requirements, as a result of which it does not have any decisive advantages over petty production and, sometimes, is even inferior to it in terms of labor productivity and quality.

The point is that the main process which determines the overall significance of contemporary private production is the tempestuous expansion of the service industry. Actually, in the main material production sectors in the Soviet Union petty-commodity production is nonexistent and in other European socialist countries, as we saw, its share is extremely insignificant (with the exception of agriculture in Poland and Yugoslavia). The share of private labor in the service industry only is significantly higher, particularly in Hungary and the GDR, where it has reached 50 to 70 percent in some services. Obviously, the development trends in this area are a manifestation of the most general principles in the expansion of individual labor activity in economically developed socialist countries.

In recent decades changes on a revolutionary scale have taken place in this area, both from the viewpoint of the volume and variety of services as well as (particularly) from that of demand for the same. Thus, in the past 25 years, real per capita income in the USSR increased by a factor of more than 2.5; the overall volume of retail trade, meanwhile, quadrupled (in current prices) while the volume of consumer services increased by a factor of 12 within the same period. However, the extent to which demand for services is satisfied did not increase but even decreased, because of even faster increase in demand.

Such is one of the problems which arises in the course of the improved material and cultural standards of the people. At the stage at which the bulk of the population had not achieved a full level of satisfaction of basic vital needs, the growth of real income was paralleled by a respective increase in solvent demand for the same most basic items, without any substantial structural change. However, after the limit of physically (or biologically) possible consumption of the simplest items has been attained, the further growth of real income is paralleled by sharp changes in the consumption structure. The additional income is channeled entirely into selected groups of more valuable commodities, as a result of which demand for such objects may increases quite inconsistently with the overall increase in real income but significantly faster, and irregularly. Some consumer goods and services which, until then, were part of the set of daily necessities for only a small part of the population suddenly become objects of mass demand and the need for them quickly increases, sometimes dozens of times. Thus, at different times, despite increased output, furniture, books, cameras, carpets, expensive food varieties, cars, tape recorders, and others have been "scarce."

In 1970 no more than 18 percent of the Soviet population earned an income in excess of 100 rubles monthly per family member; the figure exceeded 60 percent in 1985. Higher-income families which, until recently, were in the minority, have become the majority. It was precisely during these years that the most important changes took place in the structure of demand for commodities and services. In frequent cases leaps in demand in some small sectors proved to be so significant that the usual steps taken to increase the volumes of output were unable to satisfy the market. Unfortunately, together with a structural imbalance of the market in a number of countries (including the USSR) an overall imbalance appeared: wages increased faster than labor productivity and the amount of money available to the population exceeded the supply of many commodities and services. The interweaving of these two processes

prevented us from singling out one of them, which was the latest and the least studied: structural imbalance, caused by higher living standards. This problem was better studied in countries in which the overall balance was retained, such as Hungary and the GDR. A structural imbalance appeared in those countries as well and required taking special steps. The factual data already acquired enables us clearly to understand the roots of the problem in our country as well.

Today the consumer market in the socialist countries offers, on a mass scale, commodities which only 20 or 30 years ago either did not exist or were accessible to a very small group. Only a few skilled individuals can repair and service such items themselves. Compared with those times (in the recent past) when the overwhelming majority of the population had neither separate apartments nor their own cars, household electronic utensils had not been invented and the most complex household electric appliance was an iron, demand for repair services increased not in terms of percentages or "times" but by leaps and bounds. Demand for service related to cultural recreation has increased even faster, including the development of still and motion-picture film, sound recording, the study of foreign languages, driving, some types of sports, the construction of country cottages and garages, etc. A full satisfaction of demand for services has not been achieved by any single socialist country and in some of them demand exceeds supply by a factor of 10 or more.

What is the reason for this? It may seem that if industry can significantly increase the production of one item or another, it could, to the same extent, increase their servicing and repair. However, the advantages of concentration and centralization cannot be manifested wherever there is no concentration and centralization. An item may be produced on a large-scale mass basis whereas servicing and repair by their very nature are individual, for the consumer is scattered. Efforts to centralize services in large repair enterprises have as many disadvantages as advantages. Centralization remains largely formal. The use of large-scale equipment is difficult in large repair enterprises as well, for the nature of the faults and the required repairs remain individual. Conversely, in expanding consumer service enterprises, slowness, bureaucratism, extortions and other consequences of the monopoly power held by the producer over the consumer are manifested to their fullest extent.

The objective need for individual labor in some public production sectors is most frequently determined by the actual level of development of production forces and assessing this development enables us to predict the further growth of socialization. Thus, demand for repair services could be radically reduced by improving the reliability and quality of goods and even by lowering their price to a point which it would make it cheaper to buy a new item than to repair an old one. In some sectors the use of essentially new technologies could help. For example, instead of developing a roll of film, we should produce the type of materials and cameras which will provide instant development. In other cases, obviously, we shall have to wait until a qualitative leap has been made in robotics, such as, for example, a development which would lower the need for repairs or apartment care provided by private individuals. However, in some cases the object of labor itself predetermines the need for individual type of work. Thus, even if 100

hairdressers are brought together under the same roof, they will not be able to use a combine or a conveyer belt to upgrade their labor productivity. Large-scale industry could and should have a say in improving the tools and materials available to hairdressers but would be unable to change the individual nature of their work in haircuts, shaving or combing. Any administrative efforts to centralize such labor would not result in proving the merits of large-scale production but of its shortcomings. Additional inconveniences to the population arise from the fact that what is really achieved is not only the centralization of services but the "centralization" of consumers who must make long trips to the servicing enterprise. When the lack of results of large-scale technology is combined with the "results" of major capital investments and an inflated administrative apparatus, services turn out to be unprofitable. This is the main reason for which the state is unable to satisfy demand for such services at acceptable prices.

At this point, this becomes not only an economic but a social and political problem, for the impossibility of making use of quite expensive items is a source of significant social dissatisfaction and in fact undermines the major accomplishments of socialist society in upgrading the material well-being of the working people. In such cases, unsatisfied need becomes primary and people try to satisfy it at all cost, in the final account resorting to illegally provided private services for repairing cars, tape recorders, and others. However, if the mass use of private services is actually a fact and the need for it is objective, it would be preferable to legalize the actually existing individual service "enterprises" rather than to preserve their illegal status. Suppressing them through the law enforcement does not solve in the least socioeconomic problems (providing services). Furthermore, this is difficult to accomplish for the reason that the population, which is objectively interested in such services, does not provide mass support in exposing them. Such clandestine activities, in addition to their moral and ideological cost, are extremely harmful because they are left uncontrollable by the state in terms of prices and quality of services, do not provide revenue from taxation and frequently involve the use of stolen equipment and materials. If such activities are legalized, they become controlled and subject to economic influence. The consumer is protected from the arbitrary behavior of the producer, the state budget earns tax revenue, equipment and materials are purchased from the state and controlling the income of producers becomes possible.

Let us note that small-scale production, which is inferior to large-scale output in terms of the possible use of large-scale equipment has its strong features as well. They include the personal interest shown by the worker in the results of enterprise activities, without the use of intermediary units, since here the worker himself is the "enterprise." They also include increased autonomy and possibility of displaying initiative, closeness to the consumer and the possibility of quickly changing the variety of items and services. Finally, they eliminate administrative expenses.

Therefore, the objective grounds for private labor activities in economically developed countries which have completed laying the foundations for socialism are essentially different from those in countries which are still in the transitional period. Such activities cannot restrict large-scale socialist

production, which has developed in the basic material sectors, such as industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and communications. They are efficient in manual and individual types of work, such as crafts, marginal retail trade and public catering and passenger transportation (taxi cabs) and, above all, the service industry. This means that although they cannot substantially increase their share of the national income, they could remain for a long time within the limited area of activities they now have. Limiting individual work on the level of petty-commodity production may be achieved with a type of organization of labor and wages in state and cooperative service industry enterprises in which, without abandoning public ownership, it would be possible to take into consideration the individual nature of the work and adapt to consumer demand. This applies above all to forms of individual contracting, already applied at some enterprises.

What role will individual labor activity play in the new economic mechanism, created by decision of the 27th Party Congress? The answer is, none. With full justification we base this answer on the fact that the mechanism of full cost accounting in state and cooperative enterprises and that of individual labor activity develop on parallel basis. They are not firmly interlinked and, in principle, can be fully organized at different times. A somewhat different answer is also possible: its role would be quite small. This answer has its justification as well, for the share of individual output within the national income of the country cannot exceed a few percentage points or even a fraction of 1 percent. A third answer, however, is also possible: potentially, individual production can greatly assist large-scale production in upgrading work quality. Let us recall that one of the lessons of the NEP, according to V.I. Lenin, was that "this is a test of the competition between the state and capitalist enterprise" (op cit., vol 45, p 78). He explained this as follows: "What is needed is an examination, a real examination, not of a type according to which the Central Control Commission makes a study and issues a condemnation, while the All-Russian Central Executive Committee demands punishment; no, we need a true investigation from the viewpoint of the national economy" (Ibid, pp 79-80).

It is thus that Vladimir Ilich understood the problem at a time when socialist enterprises had to compete with small-scale private capitalist production. It is even more pertinent today to raise the question of competition among different forms of labor activity in the conditions of a unified socialist economy. It is a question of checking its work as it competes for consumers. In assessing the potential importance of such investigation, we should not be bothered by the small scale of individual or petty-group output compared with the overall public production in the country. It will not have to compete against the giants of metallurgy or the machine building system. Its likely "rival" will be the state consumer industry. Here a true investigation of work standards could be organized.

The following is an important stipulation: it is a question of future individual production, well-organized, with proper standards, the way it should gradually develop in the course of the implementation of the new law. It is a question of its place in the future overall economic mechanism, a mechanism which does not exist as yet and which we are only beginning to build. This is frequently forgotten. A recent example is that of the

emotional and sincere letter written by I. Karpova, which was published in KOMMUNIST No 17 for 1986 among other responses to T.I. Zaslavskaya's article. Its author, concerned by excessive differences in the incomes of different population groups, claimed that "people engaged in individual labor activity have an extremely high income." The point, however, is precisely that in an correctly structured economic system such activities could provide only equitably high earning wherever this is warranted by more intensive and more productive labor. Extremely high earnings, which would include paying for the monopoly status of today's "private entrepreneur" and his "insurance payment" as well as an element of speculation, appear precisely under the present quite imperfect mechanism. Such earnings are possible with clandestine and unorganized individual activities which, furthermore, do not have to compete with state enterprises which frequently, operating under the conditions of the old mechanism, surrender their field of activities "without a fight."

Let us not delude ourselves: it is a well known fact that individual labor activity in the socialist countries has its negative consequences as well. This should not be ignored. In particular, controlling income in this area is more difficult and differentiation among individual incomes may increase. It would be good if higher wages are consistent with more intensive and productive toil although, however, unwarranted differentiation is not excluded. Furthermore, the realm of individualistic and petit-bourgeois mentality broadens. What remains decisive, however, is the fact that the negative consequences of unsatisfied demand for services is significantly higher, be they economic, social or moral. The only solution, therefore, is the following: party, state and economic authorities must do everything possible to reduce the cost of individual labor activity without limiting its usefulness and helping to develop it. Naturally, we shall have to master new and unaccustomed functions. Obviously, greater demand will be placed on skilled fiscal inspectors and enterprising suppliers.

Not so long ago, the popularization of new practical solutions was reduced to making them fit hasty "theoretical" substantiation or the assertion that the latest scientific solution had already been found. I believe it would be more useful not to proclaim that all problems have been solved but to formulate the type of new questions which this new phenomenon in socioeconomic practice awaits a scientific answer. In particular, the question of ways of improving relations of socialist ownership by the whole people by no means arises only in connection with individual labor activity. Socialist commodity-monetary relations and planning, total cost accounting and autonomy of enterprises as well as democratic centralism and self-government are the range of problems directly related to the development of socialist ownership, within which contest theoretical and practical problems of the individual labor activity must be solved.

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SPARE TIME PURSUITS--NEW FORMS AND NEW PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 83-90

[Article by Tamara Vasilyevna Golubtsova, USSR deputy minister of culture]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress set as a primary assignment the possibility of providing the broadest possible scope for displaying the capabilities of the people and making their lives spiritually rich and varied. It also adopted a new approach to problems of developing the sociocultural sphere in the country. The negative phenomena which became apparent at the turn of the 1980s can be largely explained precisely by the fact that this area was underestimated. That is why the increased dynamism of our entire life is most directly related to the acceleration of the spiritual and, particularly, the enhancement of living and recreation standards.

The novelty of the contemporary formulation of these problems has been reflected in the new edition of the party program, adopted at the congress, which considers steady improvements in the content and methods of cultural and education work a mandatory prerequisite for the successful solution of most important problems, such as satisfying the growing demand of different population categories, providing the necessary opportunities for independent people's artistic creativity, developing capabilities, enriching the socialist way of life and shaping healthy needs and high aesthetic tastes.

The standard and quality of labor greatly depend on the standard and quality of the leisure time. That is why questions of the way of life and recreation of the people must not be considered secondary or external in terms of the strategic tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

Fate of Amateur Associations

I had the occasion to visit the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Volnovakhskiy Rayon, Donetsk Oblast. The reason that this farm is successful, that it is fully staffed with highly skilled specialists who were trained locally, and that there is literally no end to people who would like to work in that kolkhoz is due to the fact that here economic problems are inseparably related to problems of upbringing and that good conditions have been provided for engaging in artistic creative work and sports. The variety of circles and studios, amateur clubs and an equestrian school were all organized in accordance with

the comprehensive plan for the kolkhoz's economic and sociocultural development.

The number of such farms in the country is relatively small. One of the reasons for this is the improper evaluation of the influence of the cultural factor on social progress, which prevailed for many years.

Practical experience indicates that the more thoroughly we study and consider the recreational interests of the people, the higher their labor and social activeness becomes. In this area the satisfaction of needs is directly related to the actualization of the creative potential of the people, without which progress in a modern society is impossible.

The cultural demands of the Soviet people have increased of late, which enhanced requirements concerning material facilities for culture, which had fallen substantially behind in their development. Today we justifiably condemn the residual principle of allocating funds and resources for capital construction and for repairing and equipping cultural institutions. In itself, raising cultural standard is a complex and comprehensive process requiring extensive research, knowledge and tactical guidance. Unfortunately, for objective and subjective reasons, the activities of many cultural institutions are not entirely consistent with the dynamics of the spiritual development of society and its further democratization. A number of cultural and educational institutions turned out unprepared to provide skillful aid in developing new methods and meeting new requirements.

This is exemplified by amateur associations and hobby clubs, and military-patriotic, natural science, family, physical culture-health and sobriety clubs. In the past 5 years, on the basis of state and trade union palaces and houses of culture alone their number has increased by one half and that of their members even more, from 2.5 to 6.5 million. Interests and tastes in the organization of recreation have drastically broadened and become more varied, including technical and artistic creativity, needlework, gardening, scuba diving, stamp collecting and a great many other hobbies.

The palaces and houses of culture do their best work wherever conditions for their self-government have been provided and opportunities for initiative and creative searches have been made available. However, the frequently formalistic attitude of cultural authorities and institutions and other departments concerning amateur clubs makes it difficult to develop optimal organizational forms which encourage the maximal involvement of the people in various types of creative work. The fate of amateur associations is quite typical of the current period of drastic restructuring. They clearly reveal both good changes and unsolved problems in developing new forms of recreation.

The activities of such associations are related to the solution of topical socioeconomic problems. Typically, 25 percent of them are sociopolitical. Hobby clubs provide broader opportunities for influencing ideologically and culturally all population strata, young people above all.

The Regulation on Amateur Associations and Hobby Clubs was enacted last year. It defines the main areas of their work. The purpose of such associations is,

first, to assist in the organization of the meaningful recreation of the Soviet people, the development of their social activeness, innovative ideas and quests, and the assertion of a healthy way of life; second, to participate in ideological-educational and mass cultural work among the population, sponsored by various organizations (which could include libraries, museums, clubs, theaters, etc.), and the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge and the achievements of domestic and world culture, literature and the arts; third, to develop the skill of self-governing and involve the people in social activities, self-education and research, and to help shape in them high moral qualities and aesthetic tastes and develop their organizational and creative capabilities. The regulation offers associations new opportunities for expanding their activities using funds provided by sponsoring agencies, collected from membership fees or earned through their own efforts.

Hopefully, hobby associations and clubs will now gain new strength and become more widespread. Optimism in this area is based on the fact that support of movements for healthy and cultural recreation has become a major social and governmental project. The regulation was drafted and discussed with the participation of the AUCCTU Komsomol Central Committee, USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR Ministry of Education, USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR Ministry of Justice, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR Gosnab, and USSR Ministry of Trade and the board of the USSR State Bank. Managers and members of many amateur associations were actively involved in drafting this document.

This list of prestigious organizations proves that the future of the amateur movement in our country was considered thoroughly and comprehensively. Now we must enhance the efforts of cultural institutions in assisting it and, due to its many aspects, draw to it the attention of various agencies in organizing meaningful activities and improving material facilities.

Many changes have taken place in recent years, which should not be underestimated. In particular, a number of healthy trends, which had long been making their way through the obstacle course of previous restrictions, have been legitimized.

In this connection, I recall my visit to the Krasnoyarsk Metallurgical Plant in 1984. No one could remain indifferent to the modern facilities of the labor palace, the swimming pool, the ice skating rink, the track facilities, the entertainment area and the newlywed house. One can easily guess that both some rather high economic indicators achieved by the metallurgical workers and the fact that cadre turnover at the plant had drastically declined were directly related to the good sociocultural environment in and around the plant. Everybody--the state and the personnel--benefited. However, this was accomplished only thanks to the initiative and, one could even add, the courage of the plant director Hero of Socialist Labor A.N. Kuznetsov, and the party and plant committees.

These facilities had been built by the plant itself. The enterprise has its construction shop and the entire collective enthusiastically participated in

the sociocultural development of its microrayon. All of this was the result of personal initiative, financed out of capital investments for industrial projects and, naturally, without lowering assignments for the completion of production facilities or at the expense of the sociocultural and housing construction funds. Today this procedure has been legalized. However, not all problems related to strengthening the material and technical base of cultural establishments have been solved.

For example, amateur associations need some few durable goods purchased from retail shops on a cashless basis. However, the USSR Ministry of Trade and USSR Gosbank are still not allowing the necessary increase in the number of cultural items which could be sold on a cashless basis to clubs, parks, museums, libraries and amateur associations.

Reality raises new questions which may sometimes be unexpected or seem too petty to be worthy of attention. This applies to the sale of industrial enterprise waste for purposes of amateur activities. The network of stores specializing in such trade is being organized all too slowly.

Intersecting Points of Departmental Interests

The leisure time area is quite extensive and dynamic. People steadily develop new interests and demands which must be efficiently satisfied. In turn, this presumes the creation of an organized system which would sensitively react to such requirements and provide all cultural institutions, amateur associations or anyone who would like to use his spare time meaningfully with all that this requires. The enterprises managed by the ministries of culture are, as a rule, weak. Their technical facilities are poor and not geared for mass output. The goods they produce are for small and medium-sized types of entertainment, library shelves, stage equipment, theater seats, etc. This cannot fully solve the problem of strengthening the material foundations for culture, recreation and daily life.

The solution of this problem lies in an area where departmental interests intersect most intensively. The most difficult problem is that of construction. In addition to everything else, a great deal here depends on the efficiency of the respective subdivisions of the local soviets and the gosagroprom, cultural and other authorities in particular. Although the soviet ispolkoms have been granted greater rights in managing capital construction in the local areas, to this day the question of using a single contractor in building cultural projects remains unsolved.

The view that building cultural projects is a secondary matter is difficult to surmount. The building of rayon cultural houses in the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia and other republics is unsatisfactory. A similar attitude toward expanding the network of parks prevails in many oblasts in the RSFSR and in Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Armenia. Such shortcomings confirm the durability of the old views on problems of recreation and the lack of a new approach to the development of the sociocultural area.

In order to organize a healthy recreation, a variety of steadily updated equipment is needed by amateur art groups and associations, and applied folk

artists. In this case it is impossible to do without the participation of departments and enterprises which determine the destinies of scientific and technical progress, which for the time being, has still poorly influenced the recreation area. Of late the need for game computers and other microprocessor and video equipment has increased drastically. Small sports equipment items are needed not only by the sports organizations but also the parks and amateur associations and for individual use, for millions of people are practicing physical culture. The letters and articles in the press express many just claims addressed at union and republic culture ministries. However, the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress of eliminating the residual principle of allocating resources for the development of the sociocultural area is a national matter affecting all departments. Currently, with the participation of interested departments, the USSR Gosnab is drafting plans for a unified system for equipping cultural institutions.

An efficient system of interaction is as needed in areas where departmental interests intersect, as anywhere else. Experience indicates that work is most successful wherever a regional recreation organization has been developed and the efforts of different departments--culture, sports, education, vocational and technical training, higher schools, movie theaters, public organizations and communal and consumer service enterprises--have been harmonized.

The cultural-sports complex (KSK) offers an optimal model of such a system on the scale of the rayon and microrayon. At the beginning of 1986 more than 12,000 such complexes existed in the country. The successes of many of them were the result of a proper method for combining interdepartmental interests. The recreation of the people becomes richer, more varied and attractive and problems of financing and material and technical procurements are solved more easily. Clubs, museums, libraries, schools, movie theaters, sports facilities, organizations and other establishments have acquired, within the KSK, additional opportunities for expanding their influence and making educational work more efficient.

Let us not forget that many rural clubs and libraries have no more than two or three paid employees. By becoming part of a KSK, they become a strong collective. The fact that, as a rule, chairmen of rural and deputy chairmen of rayon and city soviets become the heads of KSK coordination councils has enhanced their prestige and concretized the activities of people's agencies in organizations providing recreation facilities. The KSK coordination councils frequently direct the efforts of 20 or 30 departments and organizations.

An example of such interesting experience is provided by the Dzerzhinsk City and Dalnekonstantinovskiy Rayon (Gorkiy Oblast) cultural-sports complexes. Combining the creative possibilities and forces of KSK members made it possible to enrich the content and increase the variety of ways and means of cultural-educational and physical-health work and to upgrade its social significance and recognition. Participation in various projects has more than doubled; their topics have become more relevant, their quality has improved and their ideological and emotional influence has been strengthened. An interesting and promising method for organizing meaningful recreation in the local areas has been found. However, any method, unless given a new content, tends to become formalized. The symptoms of this disease may already be

detected, precisely wherever the KSK ignores the broadening demands of the population or provide systematic aid to amateur associations and circles, but instead mainly undertakes extensive projects.

The USSR Ministry of Culture actively supported the Komsomol initiative of setting up youth cultural centers which provide methodical guidance and coordinate all mass cultural work among the young people of a city or rayon. In such centers recreation organizers may come for advice and consultation and learn through practical experience how to organize a more interesting evening, competition or debate. Such centers, which have been organized in Moscow, Saratov, Khabarovsk, Arkhangelsk, Gorkiy and Omsk, are especially needed as amateur clubs and other youth recreation methods become extensively popular.

With the assistance of culture and trade union bodies of Komsomolsk-na-Amure, for example, using the facilities of the Palace of Culture imeni 50-Letiya Oktyabrya, the Komsomol sponsors youth evenings which have gained great popularity. These days entering the palace of culture is not easy even though an entrance fee is charged. The palace manages several hotels and clubs for debates, amateurs of poetry and motion pictures, "do it yourself" workshops, "new fashion," a video library, a tea room, a discotheque, and others.

Therefore, in recent years new forms of organization of meaningful recreation, created as a result of the growth of the spiritual needs of the Soviet people, have appeared. Let us name two of the most pronounced trends in this area: the increased scale and variety of attractions. Experience proves that greater spiritual needs cannot be met with old methods. Here as well economic and psychological restructuring is needed.

Progress in Restructuring

One of the ways of surmounting shortcomings is the maximal utilization of existing material facilities, which is quite possible. Enterprises without cultural and sports facilities of their own could use those located in their vicinity by contributing to their upkeep. Contracts between clubs and organizations within the agroindustrial complex are being actively used.

One of the first to apply such type of relations between cultural and educational institutions and RAPO enterprises and farms was Sovetskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray. The cultural workers are relating more closely their activities to the tasks of those they serve: the possibilities and advantages of the RAPO in providing a comprehensive solution to problems of the economic and sociocultural reorganization of the countryside and brigade forms of labor organization and incentive are being promoted. A struggle is waged against parochial feelings and a mentality of dependence. In many production sectors, where no mass cultural work at all was being done concerts are now regularly scheduled along with recreation evenings; interest circles have been set up. Life in the labor collectives is now more interesting and meaningful.

In turn, the RAPO Council does not remain indifferent to strengthening the material facilities and increasing the financial possibilities of cultural institutions. Here the principles of shared participation by rayon institutions, Kolkhozes, sovkhozes enterprises in their upkeep and utilization are applied.

and production associations are very interested in financing and repairing clubs. They help to buy equipment and costumes for amateur performances, grant cultural workers passes to sanatoriums and rest homes and help them cultivate their plots. In a word, they treat them like they would any agroindustrial association specialist.

The experience of Sovetskiy Rayon in Stavropol is valuable for it shows that cultural workers today have become directly involved in solving problems of upgrading the economic efficiency of output and strengthening the discipline. Their reputation has been significantly enhanced, their personnel has become more stable and their accomplishments more substantial. Their creative searches and initiatives have increased.

Unfortunately, frequently managers of ispolkoms and kolkhoz chairmen treat heads of clubs of libraries as annoying petitioners. Many rayons have forgotten the important CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree which allow additional payments to be made to cultural and educational workers out of kolkhoz funds. Incidentally, their colleagues in the sovkhozes are totally deprived of such a possibility.

Another trend in the restructuring of cultural establishments and organizations is strengthening their work on a cost accounting basis. It is a question, above all, of expanding paid services. More circles and shops leasing musical instruments and technical appliances and recorded music cassettes are charging fees. A well-organized system for helping folk craftsmen has been developed in the LiSSR, as a result of which creative studios can almost pay their way, and a store for selling the goods produced by amateur craftsmen has been opened. Leasing sports equipment and shops providing complete firework sets have been organized by the Kharkov TsPKiO imeni M. Gorkiy. The park earns an annual income of about 1 million rubles.

Lately many restrictions which hindered the development of paid services in the recreational area have been lifted. Cultural and sports institutions can now keep all revenue from paid services, some of which may be used to pay for services rendered by others (over and above their labor plan). Furthermore, they are allowed to hire engineering and technical personnel and employees to provide paid services to the population in their spare time, not to exceed one half of the normal length of a working day. People willingly pay for such services. However, this requires a much more responsible approach to organizing recreation activities not only by cultural workers but also by anyone called upon to contribute to such efforts, above all the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies and economic managers.

The slowness with which many cultural institutions are being reorganized is frequently explained by the usual reinsurance, conservatism, power of inertia and, sometimes, an irresponsible attitude toward the implementation of several important decrees on improving the recreation of the working people. Investigations recently conducted by the USSR and RSFSR ministries of culture in 80 different areas indicated that many of them have poorly organized the dissemination of information on the use of progressive experience, the study of the spiritual needs of the population and supervision over the implementation of resolutions by culture bodies.

Recreation is being restructured. However, it can yield major results if combined with a psychological restructuring. The ministries of culture still receive letters, such as "The club in our village work poorly. Take steps," signed by dozens of Komsomol member, while the personnel of a small rural club, incidentally, would have a single employee.

The parasitical approach to the organization of recreation is still an ordinary phenomenon. However, ways have already been found to surmount this harmful tradition. The number of followers of the collective of the Volga Automotive Plant, which decided to devote no less than 4 free days a year to building sociocultural projects, is increasing.

In other words, the movement for a healthy and cultural recreation could become and is becoming a nation-wide project. In addition to professional cultural workers, today an entire army of enthusiasts, trained at faculties for public skills and in various VUZs, is at work. Every year such institutions graduate tens of thousands of managers of amateur performances, amateur associations and coaches for dozens of type of sports, lecturers and instructors for work with adolescents, organizers of anti-alcohol propaganda, and others.

Also increasing is the role played by the artistic intelligentsia in perfecting recreation and developing amateur movements. The forms of sponsorship provided by theaters and concert organizations are changing and their tasks are becoming more difficult: they are not limited to traditional speeches in sponsored collectives but help to develop their creative potential. This prompted the idea of creating amateur "satellites" of creative organizations. Today this is one of the most efficient forms of sponsorship, which has been practically tried and has become quite widespread. The ballet studio of the Sotsializm Kolkhoz, Ashkhabad Oblast, is a "satellite" of the State Turkmen Song and Dance Ensemble; the people's theatre in Gatchino is a "satellite" of the Leningrad Academic Theatre imeni Lensoviet. Rich traditions have been developed in cooperation between creative associations and amateur performers in the Baltic area. Today such traditions are being given a new content, and choir singing and mass dances are changing. The number of participants in art festivals in these republics is increasing.

Cultural scientific and method institutions must play a notable role in enriching and qualitatively improving the organization of recreation. For the first time a 5-year unified plan for scientific developments has been drafted, which calls for strengthening relations between research establishments of different departments and a new approach has been designed for some areas of cultural and educational activities. Plans exist but they are being poorly implemented, particularly by culture and art VUZs which are turning from theoretical research to recreational problems extremely slowly.

Equally important is the prompt summation and utilization of progressive experience. The all-union scientific-methodical center for people's creativity and cultural and educational work recently mounted a sort of raid throughout the country, looking for interesting initiatives, new forms of cultural and educational activities by clubs and means of efficient organization of the recreation of various population groups. The basic trends

and methods for the use of experience have been developed. However, the local cultural authorities are not in a hurry to disseminate progressive initiatives. The adoption of a qualitatively new standard in the organization of recreation is inconceivable without an efficient mechanism of permanent ties between cultural authorities and the masses, without the study of public opinion or a sociological analysis of the efficiency of various methods for organizing recreation. A very efficient method for such self-investigation is for cultural and educational institutions to report to the population; 8,000 such reports were submitted in the BSSR, to more than 1 million people and about 200 meetings were held between personnel of the republic ministry and the oblast culture administrations, on the one hand, and the population of town and country and the party and economic aktiv, on the other. The results of such reports were efficiently summed up at meetings of the ministry's collegium. All of this helped to increase publicity and enhance the role of criticism and self-criticism in the work of cultural institutions and the active participation of the working people in the complex and important matter of perfecting recreation.

Culture and the way of life are an area in which restructuring must bring substantial changes in the next few years. This 5-year period 5,660 clubs and 511 rayon houses of culture will be built in rural areas, or twice the number built during the preceding 5 years. By the year 2000 the country will have 900 establishments of a new type--recreation centers. What will they be? What type of structure and appearance will they have? Currently such problems are being considered by the culture authorities and their few design and scientific and technical subdivisions. The final word, however, here belongs to the public, to anyone who has developed the urgent need to use the riches offered by culture and who aspires to engage in artistic creativity himself.

Increasing the impact of culture on upgrading the efficiency of the Soviet economy, the use of new work methods by cultural institutions, the extensive dissemination of amateur associations and the strengthening of meaningful and healthy forms of recreation are a major reserve in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and a necessary prerequisite for mobilizing the human factor, restructuring the mentality of the individual and comprehensively developing his creative capabilities.

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FIRST NAME LENIN, LAST NAME FERNANDEZ....

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 91-94

[Article by Pavel Vladimirovich Bogomolov, PRAVDA correspondent in Cuba]

[Text] ...One day before leaving for Havana to attend a course for upgrading the skills of party workers, slowly L. Fernandez walked around the building with which he had become thoroughly familiar, the premises of the municipal committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in Moron, a picturesque little town on the northern coast of the republic. "You do not have to worry about the municipality," his comrades told him when he took leave. "Everything here will be in order."

It will be in order.... Frequently, these words concealed an alarming thought. "Do not get excited, friends" meant "we are holding on despite all difficulties and adversities...." Now the times were different. Comparing this with the period of the heroic expedition aboard the "Granma," at the 3d Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba Fidel Castro noted that "It is no longer a question of a handful of people on a small yacht where there were more ideas than weapons, but of a huge and solid ship which fears neither waves nor winds nor storms."

Indeed, a significant economic and defense potential has been acquired by the country and experience in managing the economy has been gained. All of this makes it possible not only to oppose the influence of the blockade imposed by American imperialism but also to achieve tangible victories in this confrontation and to accelerate the progress of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

Virtually all capital production assets have been socialized in Cuba. A political system of the new society has been created and a real cultural revolution has been made. Many vestiges of the old backwardness have disappeared. Membership in the Communist Party now exceeds half a million. Under its leadership, the republic has become a firm link in the socialist community. The achievements of the republic are clearly visible in each one of the 169 Cuban municipalities, including that of Moron, which was recently visited by this author. Half of the working day was already behind us by the time I reached the municipal committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. The raykom secretary looked somewhat tired and older than his age, which was 50. His tanned face was edged by wrinkles and his thick body seemed bent over his

desk. Through his window, multicolored houses were visible, like sails against a background of a bottomless tropical sky. The city surrounded by swamps and mangrove, not surrendering to this unpleasant neighborhood and stubbornly conquering land from the water, lived its peaceful life.

Fernandez had dedicated half his life to the development of this area. The raykom secretary "ached" for the reputation of Moron both out of party duty and the memory of his father, who had been born here. As one of the first communists in the country, he was personally familiar with Julio Antonio Mello and Ruben Martinez Villena, the founders of the Cuban Communist Party, and with the ardent leader of the Cuban workers, Jesus Menendez.

At one point Fernandez Sr himself had become famous throughout Cuba. This had occurred the day when he publicly, in front of hundreds of comrades, had set fire to a bank check which he had secretly received as a bribe by the Moron sugar refinery owners.

The father named his firstborn Lenin. This is not exceptional in Latin America. Outstanding people named after the leader of the world proletariat may be found in revolutionary Nicaragua, in the Chilean underground and among Salvadoran rebels.

Since childhood Lenin Fernandez had been proud of his name and always defended his right to bear it. In the streets he fought off the attacks of the boy scouts and at school teachers loyal to the regime. He had barely managed to graduate from the 4th grade when he had to go to work at the sugar refinery to earn his keep and help his parents.

Informed of the "seditious" name of the new worker, the manager recorded an advance on his wage only with his initials, to "separate himself from the sinner." The latter, however, proved to be stubborn and signed his full name: Lenin Fernandez. The angered manager tore off the record and said:

"If you want work you will sign as ordered and half your wage goes to me."

The boy proudly refused and left. However, this was followed by a police instruction to all plants in the district: Fernandez is not to be hired. The raykom secretary is reminded of these times also by a scar on his cheek, the result of a slash with a policeman's saber, one of the attributes of Batista's "democracy"....

Fernandez led a hungry life, subsisting on occasional jobs. He did not accept injustice but struggled against it within the ranks of his father's party. After the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, the future raykom veteran participated in the operations for the destruction of the gangs armed and financed by the CIA. After acquiring higher political training, he firmly linked his life to the Moron municipality, its present and its future.

Fernandez was elected head of the local party organization at the peak of the mass mobilization for the sugar cane harvest. It seemed as though the republic lived only for the sugar cane crop. During that intensive period there was not always enough time or knowledge for making a profound study of

the basic, the long-term problems of organizing a socialist system. Limited possibilities existed for housing construction and the development of trade and services. However, even then many leaders tied further successes on the "sugar front" directly to retaining cadres in the remote Cuban countryside. Such precisely was the view taken by Fernandez.

"Naturally, we did not start from scratch," he said. "By then the revolution had already put an end to many social ills inherited from the neocolonialist system. The slavery of Jamaicans and Haitians who had been brought in the past to work the local plantations had vanished and so had the "red light" districts. However, the municipal center still lacked running water and sewers and was drowning in filth. Streets became impassable after a downpour.

"Did I realize at that time all the difficulties of comprehensive urbanization?" the raykom secretary went on to ask. "Yes, I realized them, as a whole, for which reason I feared that they would hinder the main area--industry. However, one could not remain indifferent to the idea of people leaving their native areas. Today, however, beneficial changes may be seen in all municipalities."

Fernandez and I entered the raykom building. The midday sun was shining on the roof tiles and the green squares of Cuba's traditional inner courtyards. Most of the buildings here are new and most of them residential. In the past 10 years microrayons have been developed in the municipality, housing more than 3,000 families or one-quarter of the entire Moron population. One more polyclinic was built, a children's park was equipped and a center for Sunday recreation was organized. A comfortable hotel was built on the main square.

A 5 minute walk took us, around the corner, to a 2-story building in the new trading center. In addition to it, there were another 42 food, four fish and three vegetable stores and dozens of breakfast rooms and coffee shops. Some of them were very small, no more than a few tables each.

"Naturally, it is not the raykom that built and furnished all of this," my companion explained. "However, it is precisely the raykom, using its great party influence, that directed the economic managers, the repair and construction organizations above all, to take maximally into account the vital problems and needs of our working people. We are defending our views in talking to superior authorities as well. Do you want to know what has become one of the most convincing arguments in our favor? The fast increase of revenue deposited in the local branches of the National Bank. Last year alone retail trade and services in Moron gave the state a revenue of about 40 million pesos, one of the record-setting indicators in the country."

It is not astounding that under the new conditions people are no longer leaving Moron. As is the case with the other municipalities in the republic, here the urban residents are no longer mobilized to harvest the sugar cane. Moron no longer needs additional manpower. The stable collectives of combine operators and sugar-cane cutters reliably ensure a rhythmical harvest.

Population density stabilized and subsequently increased. Today it averages 20 people per square kilometer. According to the Cuban friends this is quite adequate for the implementation of large-scale socioeconomic programs. However, final success will depend on the way the communists will practically exercise their vanguard role in economic and cultural construction. It is precisely this that concerns the party's municipal committee.

The raykom secretary pays particular attention to increasing the worker stratum which has already reached in Moron 42 percent of the total party membership. Many party members--over 16 percent--are in the service industry. As a whole, party membership here is in excess of 2,700 people. This is a combat-capable detachment of frontrankers of the third Cuban 5-year period, which began in 1986.

"Its beginning was quite successful," Fernandez said. "We intend to reach an annual increase in the gross output of our municipality of more than 7 percent. In terms of cash, this will exceed 50 million pesos. The high rate of output will enable us to pay even greater attention to problems of health care, education and culture."

Such is, as a whole, the favorable background on the basis of which the strategic document of the Cuban Communist Party is being discussed in Moron: the draft program, which was ratified at the end of last year at a specially convened final session of the Havana Party Congress.

Propagandists and political reporters, who explained the importance of this event, could provide convincing arguments and impressive figures and facts. The achievements made by the country in the past are obvious. However, the materials of the party congress and Fidel Castro's recent speeches have also highlighted a number of problems which have appeared in the life of the republic, problems of socioeconomic as well as moral, legal and educational nature.

What is this about? The fact, for example, that the process of perfecting planning and management was not able to avoid the appearance of bureaucratic echelons and levels and an excessive increase in the size of the administrative personnel. On the one hand, elements of unnecessary enterprise supervision appear and, on the other, the labor collectives themselves do not always exercise their rights. The irresponsibility existing in some construction, repair, transportation and other organizations led to the waste of state funds and the use of expensive equipment and materials for self-serving purposes. Here and there the principles of material incentive began to be distorted and used to justify cases of money grubbing, speculation, appropriation and other anti-social phenomena.

The Cuban communists are aware of what is hindering progress. The efficient weapons with which they are countering those who like to rest on their laurels, display showiness instead of doing real work and even dip into the pocket of the state include intensifying the party's guiding role on all levels, a critical approach to accomplishments and openness in the struggle against shortcomings. These precisely are the criteria applied in Moron.

"Let us consider a very important sector of our economy, the citrus industry," Fernandez said, explaining the nature of the changes taking place. "We cannot say that in the past we paid no attention to it. But then what were the criteria on the basis of which we rated the work of orange and grapefruit plantations? The size of the crop, mainly. This is indeed a key parameter and we are proud of the fact that we were among the first in the country to begin averaging 115 quintals of fruit per hectare. The second indicator was the extent to which the local school students were involved in socially useful work. Actually, the boarding school students became the most active participants in the harvest. All of this is good. However, other criteria, equally important, exist. For example, what was the condition of our grapefruit when loaded on Soviet ships? How demanding were we in grading the output of people at the primary fruit processing centers? Or else let us consider substandard fruits: were all of them processed into juice, jams and marmalades? As you can see, there were a number of problems pertaining to the primary party organizations. Occasionally, they have followed obsolete systems and customs by trying to dazzle us with the traditional "gross output." We strictly corrected the behavior of those who like to ignore difficulties and think in terms of yesterday's categories. Increasingly the tone is set by energetic and initiative-minded people who consider nothing in the work too petty. Briefly, one can no longer rest on previous accomplishments. The high title of communist must be justified on a daily basis through specific accomplishments."

Back in the premises of the party's municipal committee, Fernandez and I sat in the "gazik" and drove around the district.

"Here is our main project," the secretary said pointing at a chimney stack on the horizon. "It is the Patria o Muerte Agroindustrial Complex. The central part of the enterprise is the sugar refinery. In a single day it can process 2,500 tons of sugar cane. Party members are heading the competition for maintaining output on this level.

"On their request," Fernandez went on to say, "we have granted extensive rights to the plant party buro, and given it the actual status of party committee. Having obtained greater opportunities for coordinating the labor competition, the party headquarters of the enterprise intensified its search for possibilities. The result was the best republic indicator for finished production. Losses here are the lowest, more than 90 percent of the plantation land is irrigated and crop-growing mechanization is high."

It may have seemed that the raykom secretary did not have to worry about this agroindustrial complex. However, the moment we arrived, Fernandez began to ask nagging questions concerning the work plan of the party organization at the plant. He looked at it, and criticized the fact that some items had not been expanded suitably although this was required by the tasks of the collective. This included a conversion to growing higher-yielding cane varieties and developing an automated production control system. The party members are as yet to express their weighty opinion on such important problems.

Leaving the agroindustrial complex behind us, we traveled along the roads of the municipality until darkness fell. We passed by a large livestock farm where the losses which were suffered several years ago during the epidemic of the "hog plague" had been successfully eliminated. However, the damage caused by the severe hurricane Kate was still being felt.

"Yes, there are indeed many losses and destructions," the raykom secretary complained. "We cannot rebuild everything immediately although we should do so faster. For example, our "Dutch settlement" lost almost half of its buildings."

The settlement in question has an interesting and even romantic history. In the first years of the revolution, the Cubans argued a great deal on the subject of "model villages" in the new Cuba. There were no examples or recommendations. All that existed were photographs and pictures of foreign villages whose life, looked at from here, appeared carefree and prosperous. It was then that the legendary Celia Sanchez, an active participant in the revolutionary movement, was asked to develop for the Moron animal husbandrymen the type of homes never seen before in this area, with their peaked roofs, old-fashioned wells and windmills, which would remind them of the freedom loving and fearless compatriots of Till Eulenspiegel...

"Now, we are engaged in restoration here," Fernandez repeated. "Although it is a short one, one must preserve one's history."

Lenin Fernandez is a well trained manager who, however, is also sensitive to the people's difficulties, responsive and with a deep feeling for justice. Although he operates with real facts, he remains an enthusiastic dreamer.

Many of his thoughts, which seemed impossible to implement, have been now successfully carried out! On his suggestion, for example, a beautiful tradition of holding a carnival on the water was started, in the course of which decorated boats, illuminated by fireworks, sail along the canals surrounding the district center.

Before saying goodbye, I visited with the raykom secretary yet another collective. The railroad depot whose workers, in January 1924, sent a cable to Moscow expressing their deep condolences to the "Russian proletariat who had suffered a most severe loss...." The builders of socialist Cuba are holding high the Leninist banner. One of them is Lenin Fernandez, a true man, citizen and communist.

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SOVIET PEACE STRATEGY AND THE ASIAN-PACIFIC AREA

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[Article by Mikhail Leontyevich Titarenko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Far East, dr of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The Asian-Pacific area is an intrinsic component of the foreign policy course charted by the CPSU and the Soviet state to preserve peace on earth and improve the international situation. The 27th Party Congress noted in particular the growing significance of this region in the context of global politics and the need for enhanced activities aimed at reaching a political settlement for its exceptionally complex problems. This would enable us to reduce the gravity of the military confrontation in the area, to normalize the situation and to create an atmosphere of confidence and constructive cooperation.

The basic stipulations formulated at the congress were further developed and concretized in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok and in his speeches during his friendly state visit to India. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary presented a broad comprehensive program for securing peace, safety and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region (APR), urgently calling upon all its peoples to join efforts in the search of ways to achieve peace, revival and prosperity. Here as well, this program, which is clearly embodied in Soviet peace strategy, is opening a safe road for the practical implementation of the concept of comprehensive international security and the ideas of peaceful coexistence, good neighborly relations and mutually profitable cooperation on the bilateral and regional levels.

I

Soviet policy in the APR organically combines global with regional aspects of security, taking objectively into consideration both the national interest and the interests of all states and peoples in that part of the planet.

More than three-quarters of the territory of the Soviet Union lies in Asia. It is an area of concentration of tremendous natural resources, where vast and great socioeconomic plans are being implemented on an all-union scale. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "The situation in the Far East, in Asia as a whole

and in the adjacent oceans, an area of which we are permanent old residents and sailors, is of national and governmental interest to us."

Taking into consideration the growing interdependence in the world, our country correspondingly proceeds from the basic, the vital interests of the entire Asian-Pacific area with its many millions of people. This area is one of the most restless in the world. It is precisely here that American imperialism first used nuclear weapons, turning into ashes Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and where it committed two of the most blood-shedding aggressions after World War II: in Korea and Vietnam. In recent years, on almost 230 occasions the United States has resorted to the use of armed forces in Asia and on 33 of them has been on the brink of using nuclear weapons.

In pursuing their "neoglobalist" course, the U.S. ruling circles are trying to destabilize and aggravate the situation in the area and convert it into an arena of military and political confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and young independent states. America's presence is being strengthened and so are nuclear armaments; bases and "rapid deployment" staging areas are being created.

In addition to the accelerated growth of its own military power, the United States assigns a major role to the enhancement of the military forces of Japan and South Korea and is formulating plans for putting together an aggressive Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis. Suffice it to say that Japan's military expenditures, which totaled 1,327,300,000 yen in 1975 reached 3,343,500,000 in 1986, i.e., an they were increased by a factor of more than 2.5. The militaristic expenditures of South Korea nearly quintupled between 1975 and 1983 (\$0.9 billion to \$4.4 billion).

The Indian and the western part of the Pacific Ocean have become targets of intensive militaristic preparations by the Pentagon military; here, starting in the mid-1970s, the naval power of the 7th and 3d American Fleets is being increased at an accelerated pace. Between 1975 and 1984 alone, this force was expanded with the addition of three nuclear aircraft carriers and more than 40 nuclear submarines. American Marines were reinforced by large air and landing-force subunits.

For the time being, the militarization of the APR is lesser compared to that in Europe. However, here as well it is gathering a dangerous pace ever more rapidly. According to the London Strategic Studies Institute, in 1985 military expenditures of APR countries reached almost \$560 billion, or more than two-thirds of all appropriations for military purposes in the contemporary world. Although behind Western Europe in terms of nuclear weapons, this area has substantially outstripped other parts of the world in conventional armaments and armed forces.

Washington does not deem it necessary to conceal the aggressive trend of its APR policy. Thus, R. Solomon, a senior official in the State Department, said in the summer of 1986 that the objective of the U.S. Pacific doctrine is war on the USSR which, in his words, "would begin in Europe and expand with the addition of a second front in the Far East." In his 4 October 1986 Alaska speech, on the eve of the trip which his superior was to make to Asia, Caspar

Weinberger, the American secretary of defense, once again waved around the bogey of the "Soviet threat," stating that the United States was "entirely ready for war," and called for "pitting against the Soviet leadership American political and economic power, the armed forces of the United States and the American unequivocal resolve to use them."

The range of expansion of American military bases and targets and deployment of its navy indicate that it would be erroneous to consider the growing militaristic preparations made by Washington and its allies only within the context of their hostility to the USSR and the other socialist countries. American naval and "rapid deployment" forces, concentrated in the APR, could be used at any moment to interfere in the domestic affairs of countries whose independent stance may be taken by Washington as a "threat" to its global interests.

At the same time, the imperialists are doing everything possible to intensify in the APR an atmosphere of reciprocal mistrust, to provoke a variety of territorial and border disputes, inherited from colonial times, and to maintain and increase hotbeds of tension. They try to make use of conflicts in pursuit of their unseemly objectives and are waging undeclared wars against the peoples of Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Under these circumstances, the aspiration of the Soviet Union to develop an atmosphere of tranquility and stability in this part of the world and to ensure equal safety for all of its countries and peoples, is not only helping to strengthen the national independence and sovereignty of the young independent countries but also their socioeconomic progress as a whole. What makes this even more important is that these countries have major potential for growth. A number of political leaders and scientists are even predicting the advent of a "Pacific Age" as a result of the appearance of a new large global economic center in the APR.

Already now the countries in this area account for about 60 percent of the industrial output of the capitalist world. They account for as much as one-third of the U.S. foreign trade and 58 percent of Japan's imports and 55 percent of its exports. It is no accident that the sharp competitive struggle among American, Japanese and Western European monopolies is becoming increasingly noticeable in the APR. The area is becoming the focal point of the gravest possible political and economic contradictions among imperialist countries.

The major socioeconomic and political changes which are taking place in the APR are substantially influencing the overall international situation. One of the most important foundations on which today's reality is based is the process of revival of the national self-awareness and dignity of its peoples, who are aspiring to a new way of life and who have enriched the history of mankind with comprehensive and original experience in the struggle for peace, freedom and independence. As M.S. Gorbachev noted, "Today this process in Asia and the Pacific is in a state of upsurge: everything is in motion and a lot has fallen by the wayside. The new is mixing with the old. Foundations of life which, only yesterday, seemed inviolable, are yielding to the winds of social, scientific and technical and ideological change. This, if you wish,

is yet another age of Renaissance in world history, which encompasses a tremendous potential for progress, not only for Asia and Oceania."

II

Ensuring the most favorable external conditions for the peaceful life and work of the Soviet people most urgently requires a durable peace and development of cooperation with all countries. Our peace policy is not circumstantial. It does not consist of pious wishes. It is a long-term fundamental line dictated by basic governmental interests and sincere concern for the well-being of all nations.

The Soviet Union is persistently striving for the APR to be no longer a source of international tension but a reliable area of peace and security, confidence and mutual understanding and comprehensive mutually profitable cooperation for the good of all countries and peoples, and for the Pacific Ocean truly to play, as Marx said, "the role of a great waterway for global relations" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 7, p 233).

What characterizes the attitude of the Soviet Union toward APR problems?

The Soviet position is distinguished by the novelty of its approaches to settling a number of problems, daring and a constructive spirit, the formulation of reliable and specific steps and guarantees aimed at creating an atmosphere of confidence, paying close attention to suggestions and initiatives formulated by other countries, and readiness to seek compromises. Briefly, this is the new political thinking in action.

The broad platform for securing peace, safety and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, suggested by the Soviet Union, could be divided, for purposes of convenience, into two major groups of ideas. The first includes general principles of relations among countries in the area and approaches to settling existing conflicts. Their formulation took into consideration, among others, the constructive initiative and ideas formulated in the postwar years by different Asian countries, such as the principles of Pancha Shila and Bandung, and the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries in the area--Mongolia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as India and a number of ASEAN countries; they reflect corresponding recommendations formulated in United Nations decisions and resolutions. For the first time, our suggestions have reduced to a single denominator this comprehensive experience in settling relations among Asian countries, subordinated to the noble task of securing the rights of nations to a free and peaceful life.

The New Delhi declaration on the principles of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, which was initialed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to India, was a major practical step in the implementation of these highly humane objectives. This is a truly outstanding document which opens a reliable way to rescuing mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe. The vitality of this declaration rests in the fact that it is based not only on the considerations of Soviet and Indian security but also that it correlates them with the overall security and hopes of mankind. In this connection, the newspaper

HINDU wrote that "the 10 points of the New Delhi declaration codifies standards which, in themselves, could ensure the survival of mankind under conditions of peaceful coexistence."

The second group includes a variety of measures and practical steps on the regional, subregional and bilateral levels, the coordinated implementation of which would make it possible gradually, step by step, to improve the political climate in the area and take a decisive turn towards strengthening confidence and developing mutually profitable comprehensive cooperation. Particularly significant in this light is the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific, which would cover vast areas as defined in the Rarotonga 1985 Treaty. The treaty has already been initialed by 10 and ratified by eight of the 13 countries of the South Pacific Forum. Our country, which supported their initiative from the very start, was the first of the nuclear powers to sign protocols Nos 2 and 3 of the Rarotonga Treaty, which proclaimed this part of the world a nuclear-free zone and thus bound itself to respect this zonal status.

In the contemporary complex and interrelated world, the problems of the APR cannot be considered separately from the overall international situation. The course of the struggle in the world arena on such most crucial and vitally important problems as disarmament and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, naturally exerts a tremendous influence on the situation in the APR. At the same time, the processes which are taking place here frequently have a substantial impact on the overall international political climate.

Specifically, what is the Soviet Union proposing?

Above all, taking a broad range of practical steps in the political, military and economic areas on the scale of the entire region.

Politically, the thorough preparations for and eventual holding of an Asian-wide forum which would look for joint constructive solutions could play a positive role. The opponents of this initiative claim that all controversial problems should be solved before that, without which such a meeting would yield no results. This viewpoint cannot withstand criticism.

To begin with, the Soviet proposals do not contemplate the immediate holding of an Asian forum but making gradual and thorough preparations for it, taking into consideration the specific circumstances in the area without in the least duplicating the Helsinki experience.

Second, it suggests that alongside preparations for the forum, a wide set of political steps be taken aimed at settling regional conflicts, activating the project of demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, making progress in development of nuclear-free zones, and improving intergovernmental relations and thus eliminating the tension and strengthening the atmosphere of reciprocal confidence and constructive cooperation.

A carefully prepared meeting of leaders of APR countries would bring to light areas of agreement and an effort would be made to formulate common principles of behavior and coordination of interests of countries in the nuclear-space

age. The Bandung experience, the Sino-Indian talks of the 1950's, the Geneva talks on Indochina, the talks on concluding an armistice in Korea and the Indo-Pakistani talks in Tashkent and Simla convincingly proved the usefulness of the preparations for and holding of an Asian-wide forum. M.S. Gorbachev's idea of holding such a meeting in Hiroshima, the city which was the first to experience the horrors of a nuclear bomb, was welcomed with profound satisfaction in Japan and other countries.

It is not excluded that preparations for an Asian summit would require, as confirmed by the experience of other similar conferences, including that in Bandung and Helsinki, that a series of meetings or working conferences be held by representatives of the interested countries. In this case displaying readiness to cooperate in and initiate an Asian-wide process is very important.

The Soviet program for peace, security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin is not a utopia but a set of realistic, weighed and specific proposals which take into consideration the interests and possibilities of all countries in this part of the globe.

In the military area, the Soviet Union is suggesting a set of steps the implementation of which would substantially lower tension and increase the confidence of each country concerning its safety. It is a question, above all, of extinguishing the hotbeds of tension, blocking the proliferation and increase of nuclear weapons, limiting naval activities and, in general, military presence in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins, and discussing and formulating steps to promote confidence and the nonuse of force.

In this connection, the new specific initiatives formulated in the course of M.S. Gorbachev's trip to India are of tremendous importance. The Soviet Union is ready to open talks with the United States and the other non-coastal countries which have permanently based naval units in the Indian Ocean, on substantially reducing in that area the size and activities of naval forces; it is ready to hold talks with the United States and interested Asian countries on measures of confidence in the military area as applicable to Asia and adjacent maritime areas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, to participate in multilateral talks with all countries using the waters of the Indian Ocean, with a view to formulating steps which would guarantee the security of sea lanes and sovereignty over their natural resources; and to participate in drafting and initializing an international convention on the struggle against terrorism at sea and in the air.

It is entirely obvious that the implementation of these suggestions, based on a general program for safeguarding peace and security in the APR would contribute to radically improving the situation in that part of the world, where the scale of militaristic preparations carried out by the United States and its allies is growing with every passing year. Thus, for example, 50 naval vessels, including the "Carl Vinson" and "Ranger" assault aircraft carriers, 250 aircraft and more than 50,000 soldiers and officers from the United States, Japan, England, Canada and Australia took part in the "Rimpac-86" exercise. In September 1986 a strike force of the American 7th Fleet, including some equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, capable of carrying

nuclear warheads, engaged in military demonstrations in the Sea of Japan with a run-in to the Sea of Okhotsk, i.e., near the very shores of the Soviet Far East. In this connection, the Japanese press openly stated that these actions were of an obviously provocative nature. More than 200,000 American and South Korean soldiers and officers took part in the "Team Spirit-86" exercise on South Korean territory. In 1985 alone Japanese "self-defense forces" conducted 20 military exercises jointly with American armed forces, some of which on the island of Hokkaido, near the Soviet border.

In their effort to hinder the process of detente in Asia, those who wish to undermine the strategic parity are trying to conceal their imperial aspirations, loudly expressing doubts regarding the sincerity of Soviet peace initiatives. In his Alaska speech, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger said that Asian meetings can be held only when the countries in Asia "are given grounds to trust, based on Soviet behavior, that the Soviet Union can act responsibly." Do the numerous Soviet initiatives aimed at ensuring peace and security in Asia prove not most convincingly the deep feeling of responsibility which the Soviet government displays in its approach to such difficult yet urgent problems?

An agreement on a reciprocal significant reduction in and prevention of the development of new nuclear medium-range weapons could also play an essential part in improving the climate in the Far East. To this effect the Soviet program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 calls for the total dismantling of SS-20 missiles and other nuclear arms during the second stage, i.e., roughly by 1995, providing, naturally, that a respective agreement can be reached with the United States.

At the Reykjavik meeting with U.S. President Reagan, M.S. Gorbachev, in displaying Soviet readiness to meet halfway the United States and its allies, suggested the following formula: zero missiles in Europe and 100 warheads on medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR and, respectively, on U.S. territory. This marked a major concession on the part of the USSR. However, no basic agreement was reached on this matter, such as to result in an agreement, due to Washington's unwillingness to abandon its notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative."

The political and military steps aimed at lowering tension must, in the view of the Soviet Union, be most directly related to a variety of economic steps which could lay a reliable material foundation for increased reciprocal understanding and broadening of cooperation among APR countries. Proceeding from these basic views, the Soviet government appealed to all countries in that part of the world to take steps to organize equal, mutually profitable and stable trade and economic, technological, scientific and cultural cooperation. This could involve the development of production forces, and oceanic resources, training cadres, applying new sources of energy, nuclear included, and perfecting transportation and communications.

A broader exchange of scientific and technical information would also benefit the interests of all countries in the area. A broad field of interaction opens in formulating steps for environmental protection and the efficient utilization of biological and mineral resources of seas and oceans, and in the

struggle against natural disasters and the elimination of their consequences. The development of cooperation in medicine and health care would be exceptionally valuable. Finally, joint efforts aimed at the study and peaceful use of nuclear energy and the conquest of space for peaceful purposes would also be entirely possible.

In favoring the development of mutually profitable cooperation among all countries without exception within the APR, the Soviet Union is prepared to consider favorably also the idea of a "Pacific economic cooperation," and the possibilities for and specific ways of its participation in it.

III

The development of bilateral relations based on the strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence and good neighborly relations could make a substantial contribution to the gradual development of a firm security system in Asia and the Pacific.

The USSR is trying to promote dynamic bilateral relations with all countries without exception. Naturally, the development of the closest possible and friendly relations, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, with Mongolia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, plays a special role in our policy. These countries, which experienced the hard struggle for freedom and independence, are showing tremendous concern for the preservation of peace and organizing mutual profitable cooperation, submitting in the international arena broad initiatives aimed at radical improvements in the situation in Asia.

Concluding conventions on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among countries in Asia and the Pacific would be of major importance in ensuring peace and security in the area. Such a suggestion, formulated in 1981 by the government of the Mongolian People's Republic, was supported by a number of big Asian countries.

The people and the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic have tirelessly struggled for many years to lower tension on the Korean peninsula and ensure the peaceful and democratic unification of their country and make the peninsula a nuclear-free zone. The fact that the Korean People's Democratic Republic recently joined the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and unilaterally proclaimed its intention of eliminating the testing, production, importation and deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory and banning such weapons from crossing the territory and the airspace and territorial waters of the republic, met with broad international response. The Korean People's Democratic Republic expressed readiness to initiate talks with the United States and South Korea on problems of easing military tension on the peninsula. The implementation of these suggestions could play an important role in eliminating a potential hotbed of conflict on the Korean peninsula and become a major step forward in ensuring a lasting peace in this area.

The countries in Indochina, heroic Vietnam above all, are making a major contribution to the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia for peace and

regional security. They invariably favor peaceful and good neighborly relations with China and the ASEAN countries and the conclusion of nonaggression treaties with them, in their sincere efforts to achieve a political settlement in Southeast Asia and improve the situation in the area. Very popular in the three Indochinese countries is the idea that along with normalizing the situation of Cambodia, an agreement be initialed on creating zones of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. New initiatives and practical suggestions aimed at normalizing relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the PRC and the situation in this area as a whole, were formulated at the recently held 6th Congress of Vietnamese Communists in Hanoi.

In discussing peace, security and development in the APR, we must not fail to mention the major role of the PRC. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to relations with it. As M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, "History has entrusted the Soviet and Chinese people with an exceptionally important mission. A great deal in the area of international developments depends on these two largest socialist countries."

Positive changes have been noted in recent years in relations between our two countries. Meetings between deputy heads of governments have been regularly held since December 1984. Political consultations are steadily taking place on the level of special representatives of both governments on the deputy minister of foreign affairs level. An exchange visits by high-level legislative delegations took place, the first in more than 20 years.

Some progress has been achieved in establishing contacts between leading political personalities. This is confirmed by the reception by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, of Li Peng, vice-premier of the State Council of the PRC, and the New York meeting between foreign affairs ministers E.A. Shevardnadze and Wu Xueqian in 1985 and 1986.

The USSR and the PRC have identical or similar views on many topical international problems. Our two countries unilaterally made the decision not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Subsequent to the proclamation of a moratorium on nuclear tests by the Soviet Union, a representative of the PRC said that for a number of years his country has not conducted nuclear tests in the atmosphere and intends to continue to abstain from them. We have similar or coinciding views on problems such as the prevention of militarization of outer space and the situation in the Middle East, the southern part of Africa and Central America.

The USSR takes into consideration that the PRC is a great power pursuing an autonomous and independent policy. It respects its legitimate interests and has invariably supported its position on the question of Taiwan as being an indivisible part of China. We believe that objective factors, such as a similar socioeconomic system, geographic proximity and coincidence of problems aimed at accelerating socioeconomic progress and the needs of the national economies of the two countries will contribute to the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations on the basis of the strict observance of the principles of mutual advantages and respect for sovereignty. Let us emphasize that the process of normalizing our relations is not being pursued to the detriment of the interests of third countries, as has been repeatedly stated.

However, nor do we ignore the different approaches and differences existing between our two countries and we are trying to find ways for reciprocal understanding. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "the Soviet Union is ready, at any time and on any level, to discuss most seriously with China problems of additional steps aimed at creating an atmosphere of good neighborly relations."

With a view to radically reducing the level of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to that of sensible requirements, the Soviet Union formulated an important initiative: it suggested that a discussion be held with the PRC on specific steps aimed at a respective reduction in the levels of land forces. Such an agreement would set a good example to other countries. In the interest of strengthening good neighborly relations, the Soviet Union suggested a new approach to the problem of the common boundary line which follows border river beds.

Relations between our two countries are expanding and rising to a higher level in the areas of economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation, education and sports. In 1985 reciprocal trade exceeded 1.6 billion rubles, which is higher than the 1981 level by a factor of 9. The long-term agreement on trade and payments, which was concluded in 1985, calls for reaching a volume of trade of up to 12 billion rubles between 1986 and 1990. All available indications are that this figure will be exceeded.

The Soviet-Chinese agreement on economic and technical cooperation in the construction and reconstruction of industrial projects in the PRC opens new opportunities in the development of business relations. The USSR will assist in the building of seven new and reconstruction of 17 large enterprises in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, the coal and chemical industries, the power industry and transportation. The agreement on cooperation between the higher planning authorities of the two countries, which was concluded during the trip to China taken by N.V. Talyzin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (September 1986) is of major significance.

We suggested as specific steps which could be taken in the immediate future the conclusion of an agreement on the joint development and exploitation of the resources of the Amur River, including the building of hydraulic power projects.

The progress made in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations provides all the proper reasons to hope that they will become a major element in improving the international climate in the APR.

The United States is one of the great Pacific powers without whose participation problems of security and cooperation in the Pacific area, satisfactory to all, would be impossible. So far, however, Washington has not shown any readiness to discuss such problems with the Soviet Union, which favors neighborly and equal relations and mutually profitable cooperation with its neighbor across the ocean.

Nonetheless, major opportunities exist for substantially broadening trade and economic relations between the Soviet Far East, particularly taking into consideration its plans for accelerated development, and the West Coast of the United States. Major bilateral and multilateral plans could be drafted with the participation of Japan and China, for example, in addition to the United States.

The broadening of good neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Japan is of great importance in strengthening peace and security in this part of the world. Extensive possibilities for developing cooperation between our two countries in the areas of politics, economics, science and technology, the humanities and other areas exist. The high scientific and technical and industrial potential of the two countries could yield fruitful results in pursuing joint projects in the peaceful utilization of nuclear power and space, developing the biological and mineral resources of the world's oceans and other areas benefiting the peoples of both countries.

In his Vladivostok appeal for cooperation for the sake of peace and security, addressed to all Asian and Pacific countries, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Anyone who aspires to such objectives and who hopes for a better future of his people will find in us a sympathetic interlocutor and honest partner." This was convincingly confirmed by the friendly state visit paid by M.S. Gorbachev to India. The documents, such as the New Delhi declaration and the joint Soviet-Indian statement, which were initialed by the heads of the two countries in the Indian capital, which provide a particularly clear example of the new type of political thinking in action, clearly proved to the entire world that given the existence of good will in the countries and their sincere desire, tangible progress could be achieved in improving the situation in Asia.

The Soviet concept of securing peace, safety and cooperation in the APR is extensively discussed in the United Nations and at other international gatherings, in the world press, at meetings of state leaders and at scientific conferences and symposia. The new initiatives of the Soviet Union were the center of attention of the 5th Soviet-Japanese roundtable conference, recently held in Tokyo.

The ideas and proposals formulated by the USSR have provided a powerful impetus to creative political thinking. They have contributed to the search for practical ways of solving vitally important problems in Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin, aimed at converting it into an area of peace and security, good neighborly relations and equal and mutually profitable cooperation, step by step, through the joint efforts of the APR countries and nations.

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BARBUSSE IS ALWAYS WITH US

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[Article by Voleslav Nikolayevich Sedykh, publicist]

[Text] Traveling northeast of Paris, in the direction of Compiegne, approximately at the halfway point we come to the ancient town of Senlis. In the 11th century the French Queen Anne, daughter of Kiev Prince Yaroslav the Wise, who married Henry I, the king of France, lived here for many years.

Not far from Senlis, outside the village of Aumont, the quiet Villa Sylvia stands by the edge of a forest. It was christened by a French writer who liked the house and purchased it, together with a small piece of land, in 1910. His name was Henri Barbusse, at that time already famous for his novels "Les supplicants" [The Supplicants], "L'enfer" [Hell] and an earlier collection of poems "Pleureuses" [Mourners].

In his walks in the vicinity, Barbusse frequently entered the Compiegne Forest. Could he assume then that later dramatic events would develop here, the fiery description of which would become a chronicle not only for France but for the entire world? In that forest, at the Retonde Railroad Station, on 11 November 1918 Marshal Foch signed the armistice with representatives of Germany, defeated in World War I. On 22 June 1940, in that same fatal station and in the same railroad car, Hitler's subordinates, openly displaying their gloating accepted the shameful surrender from the delegates of defeated France. One year later, the Fascist hordes hurled themselves at our peace-loving homeland...

The burning memory of the two world wars, perpetuated at Compiegne, did not ignore the peaceful Villa Sylvia. Through the efforts of enthusiasts, it became the Henri Barbusse Museum. I particularly remember a photograph among the exhibits of the bloody period of 1914-1918. It shows the house's former owner, tall and thin, like Don Quixote, with a fine ascetic face, in a soldier's overcoat.

In the very first days of the global conflict, the by then no longer young writer (he was born on 17 May 1873) volunteered for the front, naively assuming that he was defending a just cause, and fearlessly fought in the

fiercest battles. Gradually, however, bitter thoughts of the "idiocy" of the war and its unfair objectives began to appear in his letters to his wife.

The letters from the front, which later became an entire book, were the basis for the novel "Le feu" [Under Fire]. Barbusse began work in a hospital, at the end of 1915, and completed the book 6 months later. Initially published in the newspaper L'OEVRE, it was later published as a book in December 1916.

V.I. Lenin was one of the first to see the merits of this book. As A.V. Lunacharskiy recalls, Vladimir Illich said to him: "What is important in a work of art is for the reader not to question the truth it presents. With each nervous fiber the reader feels that it is precisely this that happened, and that this is how it was lived, felt and described. That is what excites me most about Barbusse. I already knew that this was roughly what happened and now comes Barbusse and tells me that this was precisely how it was. He tells it all to me with a power of conviction which I could feel only had I myself been a soldier in that squad and lived through it personally."

"Le feu" was published one year before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. In 1919 Barbusse published another novel, "Clarte" [Light]. This work as well was highly rated by Lenin. "A particularly clear confirmation of a mass phenomenon of the increased revolutionary awareness of the masses, observed everywhere," Vladimir Illich wrote, "may be found in Henri Barbusse's "Le feu" and "Clarte..." The transformation of the entirely ignorant and suppressed philistine and common man into a revolutionary, precisely under the influence of the war, is depicted with inordinate strength, talent and truthfulness" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], v 39, p 106).

That same year 1919, Barbusse founded the group and journal CLARTE. I saw a photostat of Lenin's congratulations, dated November 1922: "I hope that your veterans' organization still exists and is growing and strengthening, in size and spirit, in the sense of intensifying and widening the struggle against imperialist war. The struggle against such a war is worth dedicating one's life to it. In this struggle one must be merciless and all sophistry in its defense should be chased to the very last corner" (op cit, v 45, p 299).

The author of "Le feu" and "Clarte" remained loyal to his last breath to the noble cause of dedicating his life to the struggle against war. . . .

He is remembered as an inflexible "soldier of peace" by Pierre Paraff, president of the Society of the Friends of Henri Barbusse. A noted literary worker, doctor of law and a public figure "outside of any party," Paraff is the only living close friend and fellow worker of Barbusse's. Although he recently turned 93, he remains a high-spirited quick-witted person, sacredly carrying out his responsible mission: executor of Henri Barbusse's will.

"Barbusse died more than 50 years ago. But he is still with us, with anyone who hates war, be he French, Russian or citizen of any other country," Paraff said welcoming me in his old-fashioned apartment in the 16th Arrondissement in Paris, where I went to look at some of Barbusse's documents.

I listened to the wise old man and excitedly leafed through one of Barbusse's notebooks of World War I vintage.

"Does Barbusse's 'Le feu' no longer excite the readers?" Paraff asked. "Or else does his CLARTE no longer help us to understand the current most complex problems? And what about the anti-war and anti-Fascist Amsterdam--Pleyel movement which of the 1930's, initiated by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland? Is the history of this movement today not serve as an alarming reminder and warning to the people?"

Naturally it does, dear Paraff! Had in their time not only the progressive public but all people and governments of the West actively responded to the alarm bell sounded by the Soviet Union and the Amsterdam--Pleyel movement, possibly the second bloody storm may not have hit Europe. These were the the second bloody hurricane in this century would not swept through Europe. The recent meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the participants of the Issyk-Kul forum reminds us of this.

"Mankind has always had the intelligence, courage and conscience to analyze the reasons for an upheaval,"" the CPSU Central Committee general secretary noted in the course of the discussion. "Unfortunately, as a rule this occurred after the calamity had taken place. How different the world would have had today had the people been able to prevent an imminent difficulty?"

He also said: "The common concern of the people throughout the world related to the nuclear threat is what unites all of us today, regardless of where we live or our ideology and religion."

Pierre Paraff and I discussed this topic at length, frankly, occasionally disagreeing on some specific items but agreeing on the main point: a new type of political thinking is needed in the nuclear age, which would help all governments to rise above differences in order to rescue mankind from a terrible catastrophe. In parting, I asked my hospitable host if he could send us his recollections about Barbusse.

Shortly afterwards the promised article arrived in Moscow from Paris. The envelope also contained a photocopy of the letter in which Barbusse was congratulating his "dear colleague and comrade" Pierre Paraff on the occasion of the publication of his first book "Under French Soil," inspired by the horrors of war. The letter was dated 7 November 1917. . . . The author of "Le feu" was still unaware of the fact that on that day, in the East, in distant Russia, the dawn of peace and socialism had broken.

And now, let the president of the Society of Friends of Henri Barbusse speak.

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LIGHT OF MY DESTINY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 107-108

[Article by Pierre Paraff]

[Text] My friendship with Henri Barbusse will remain one of the lights of my life. The this friendship began in the last days of October 1916, in a military hospital in Cholet, a small town in the French countryside, in the Maine-et-Loire Department. The ward in which I find myself, lying on white sheets, is like a true heaven after the trenches from which I was recently evacuated.

Time for the morning coffee. Newspapers from Paris are distributed. I impatiently pick up one of them, the daily L'OEUVRE, with its advertizing slogan on the mast, claiming that "only fools do not read L'OEUVRE." One of the columns is the continuation of the interesting "Diary of a Squad," which captivates and shakes me up. This novel, with its fiery title of "Le feu," will soon afterwards spread throughout the world.

I immediately wrote to the author to express my admiration and gratitude. Every morning I followed the development of events in this novel-testimony. The author answered me without delay, inviting me to visit him after my discharge from the hospital.

Months passed. In 1917 I published my first collection of poems and stories of the war years "Under French Soil." Barbusse, followed by other literary masters--Romain Rolland and Edmond Rostan--liked my book. Since then Henri Barbusse has been always interested in my work. He enjoyed and was impressed by my romantic engagement. I met the girl who was to become my life's companion (I lost her a few years ago) when I wrote a letter of thanks to an unknown critic who had written a charming review on my first book.

Finally, one year later, I met Henri Barbusse in his apartment on Albert de Lapparan Street, where this simple, sensitive and perspicacious man turned out to be as captivating as I had found Barbusse the writer to be.

We met infrequently. The life of a fighter which he lived, in addition to his literary life and dedicated service to his comrades-in-arms and, subsequently,

when the peace came, to reconciliation and friendship among nations, frequently took him away from Paris. However, we corresponded regularly.

He was someone all of whose works, starting with his first collection of poems "Pleureuses" and the famous novel "L'enfer," reflected a passionate desire for justice and peace, was entirely dedicated to the struggle.

After October 1917, Barbusse was shaken up by a "burst of light coming from the East," as a French writer said. In 1923 Barbusse joined the Communist Party. His first visit to the Soviet Union was in 1927.

I was and still am unaffiliated with any party. However, having been a Dreyfussard since childhood, I was drawn to socialism. For that reason, together with Henri Barbusse, I became a member of the "Clarte" group he organized and, subsequently, the Amsterdam--Pleyel movement, which opposed fascism and war.

Henri Barbusse considered me his loyal friend. He frequently invited us to his villa in the forest in Aumont, not far from Senlis, which he had named "Sylvia," after one of the characters of Gerard de Nerval where, 35 years later, we organized the Henri Barbusse Museum. He also invited us to visit him in "Vigilia," his villa in Traja, built on top of reddish rocks overlooking the Mediterranean. There we frequently saw Paul Vaillant-Couturier.

Our discussions were not strictly political. Invariably, however, Barbusse would emphasize the need for a broad union to block the path of fascism and the approaching war.

Many years after our first meeting, France experienced its second spring--the Popular Front. Henri Barbusse was one of its inspirers. He actively supported this popular thrust, heading, together with Romain Rolland, Maksim Gorkiy, Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, Victor Margueritte and Paul Rives, the historical movement which rallied the most outstanding personalities on earth in the defense of peace.

The last time I saw Henri Barbusse was on 14 July 1935, when he was cheered by the people of Paris at a big demonstration.

Six weeks later, he died in the Kremlin Hospital, in Moscow, after dictating to Annette Vidal, his loyal secretary, his last will: "Unity, unity, everything for the sake of unity!"

A huge funeral was organized in Paris, like that of Emile Zola in 1902 and Victor Hugo in 1885.

His wife Elionne, daughter of the poet Catule Mendes, a beautiful and intelligent woman, became our close friend. She honored me by making me Barbusse's executor, after his death, asking me to handle his works and organize his museum. She left her entire estate to the Philanthropic Society and Barbusse's manuscripts to the National Library.

I shall dedicate my entire remaining strength to this mission.

In concluding these recollections on Henri Barbusse, let me note once again the feelings of respect and love for the Soviet Union which he felt, and the proud and ardent traces which his lofty and poetic friendship left in my heart.

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FLAMES CAME FROM THE SPARK!

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[Review by V. Zhuravlev, doctor of historical sciences, professor, of the "Library of Revolutionary Memoirs 'Flames Come from the Spark'." Leningrad, 1982-1986. Editors: S.S. Volk, V.N. Ginev (responsible compiler), M.P. Iroshnikov, Z.S. Mironchenkova, L.N. Plyushchikov, L.M. Spirin and V.A. Shishkin. "Vernyye Syny Otechestva" [Loyal Sons of the Fatherland]; "Pervyye Russkiye Sotsialisty" [The First Russian Socialists]; "Shturmany Budushchey Buri" [Navigators in Future Storms]; "Revolyutsionery 1870-kh Godov" [Revolutionaries of the 1870s]; "Proletarskiy Prolog" [Proletarian Prologue]; "Na Barrikadakh" [At the Barricades]; "Krusheniye Tsarizma" [The Downfall of Tsarism]; and "V Dni Oktyabrya" [In the Days of October]]

[Text] One of the tasks of education through history, the significance of which was particularly emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, was to help every Soviet person to walk the paths of the historical and revolutionary experience of the country and party, acquiring along the way new facets of spiritual, social and political maturing, which would benefit both himself and society. The live testimony of past events--revolutionary memoirs--which have come to us play an invaluable role in solving this problem. With their "involvement effect" they offer the reader, the young reader in particular, the beneficial possibility not only of more profoundly understanding the nature of these events but also to feel, to "run" through his heart and soul the best models of revolutionary experience of the fighters for the happiness of the people. The importance of this fact is enhanced by the approaching noteworthy event: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Since 1982 Lenizdat has been publishing a "Library of Revolutionary Memoirs 'Flames Came from the Spark'." The eight volumes which have already come out (four other are in preparation) contain the memoirs of participants in all stages of the Russian revolutionary movement in Petersburg (Petrograd), ranging from the Decembrists to the proletarian revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks. Specialists from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Institute of Party History, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History of the USSR, Leningrad department, Leningrad University, and a number of VUZ departments teaching CPSU history set themselves the task of describing the great revolutionary traditions of

our people and the liberation movement in Russia through the voices of those who gave them their soul and flesh. Among the large number of memoirs, some of them bibliographic rarities, the most outstanding and characteristic had to be selected and compressed in a single publication so that in the consecutive reading of the volumes the full picture of events in their chronological and cause-and-relationship sequence would appear.

We thus have a chronicle of the revolutionary and liberation movement, in which the memoirs of the revolutionaries themselves are the "building blocks," while the extensive introductory article and comment added to each volume is the binding and coordinating principle.

By the fate of history Petersburg (Petrograd) was the place where the key, the culminating events of all main stages in the country's liberation process developed. This is quite eloquently confirmed by the "revolutionary topography" of the city on the Neva: no more than a few hundred steps separate the former Senate Square from Palace Square. On the historical-revolutionary level, however, this is a road almost a century long, which covers the painful and traumatic quests of progressive democratic thinking and the broadest possible range of revolutionary practice, from the actions of a handful of palace revolutionaries, through the isolated exploit of Stepan Khalturin, to the truly nationwide storm of the proletarian socialist revolution headed by a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type.

The main information on the origins and first steps of the liberation movement in the country and on how and why in 1829 "for the first time Russia saw a revolutionary movement against Tsarism" (V.I. Lenin "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 315) may be found in the tremendous amount of research and popular science publications which marked an entire trend in Soviet historiography--"the study of the Decembrists." However, vivid initial impressions and concepts were already provided with the recollections of the Decembrists themselves. This is the subject of first (chronologically) book in the "Loyal Sons of the Fatherland" series, which includes excerpts from the notes and memoirs of active figures in the nobility stage of the liberation struggle: I.D. Yakushkin, the brothers M.A. and N.A. Bestuzhev, I.I. Pushchin, Ye.P. Obolenskiy, A.Ye. Rozen, V.I. Shteyngel and M.S. Lunin.

The organization of secret societies and the changes in the views of palace revolutionaries regarding the content, forms and prospects of the struggle and the nature of Russia's future social system, the preparations for an armed uprising, the dramatic events of 14 December on Senate Square in Petersburg, the investigation and trial of the Decembrists, the tragic details of the execution of the leaders of the movement and the life of the Decembrists exiled to Siberia are a very partial list of topics, the graphic and emotional interpretations of which are included in this volume. One of the main topics of the recollections is that of the loyalty of the 14 December heroes to their ideals, their conviction that their cause had not been in vain and that the seeds of the revolutionary struggle they planted will grow into a bountiful crop. The words of Decembrist M.S. Lunin are noteworthy: "One could alienate himself from people but not from their ideas. The hearts of the young generation turn to the Siberian deserts where the great exiles shine among the

darkness in which others would like to hide them.... They have lost everything: social status, property, health, fatherland and freedom.... No one, however, was able to deprive them of the sympathy of the people.... For awhile the Russian mind may be misled but no one can deceive the Russian popular feeling" (p 356).

Indeed, the regime of Tsar Nicholas was unable to block the further search for correct revolutionary theory and practice. As early as the 1840s the history of the liberation movement became linked with the names of Belinskiy, Hertzen and Ogarev and the activities of a very large and most consistently socialist organization in the country--the Petrashevskiy circles. They are the subject of a book in the "First Russian Socialists" series, which combines the recollections of fellow-workers and like-minded people, such as M.V. Petrashevskiy or people who sympathized with his ideas, such as F.N. Lvov, V.A. Engelson, P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy, V.R. Zotov, N.A. Speshnev, A.I. Palm, I.L. Yastrzhembskiy, P.A. Kuzmin, N.S. Kashkin and others.

A special place in such materials is held by the story and letter to his elder brother written by the future great Russian writer F.M. Dostoyevskiy, a member of the Petrashevskiy circle, in which he describes his detention and time spent in waiting for his execution on Semenov Place. All of these events profoundly shook up this brilliant psychologist of the Russian soul and were reflected in his subsequent works. On that same day, 22 December 1849, the day when F.M. Dostoyevskiy and his comrades were to be executed but were reprieved at the very last moment, he wrote to his brother from his cell in the Petropavlovsk Fortress: "Never before have there been in me such abundant and strong reserves of spiritual life as I have now" (p 339). Later, in his "Writer's Diary" for 1873, F.M. Dostoyevskiy concretized and unraveled this thought: "We, the Petrashevskiy people, were at the guillotine and heard our sentence without even the slightest feeling of repentance.... I believe that I am right when I say that at that time, in that very minute, if not everyone at least the overwhelming majority of us would have considered it a dishonor to deny our convictions" (p 385). It is as though through their efforts the Petrashevskiy supporters crossed the bridge from the palace to the Raznochintsy stage in the liberation movement and helped to mold the revolutionaries of the 1860s, N.G. Chernyshevskiy and N.A. Dobrolyubov above all.

The most important accomplishment of the best representatives of the revolutionary camp of that time, whose struggle laid the beginning of the Raznochintsy stage in the liberation movement, was the acknowledgment of the decisive role which the popular masses play in historical and revolutionary change. The recollections of the brilliant galaxy of revolutionaries of the 1860s--N.G. Chernyshevskiy, N.V. Shelgunov, M.A. Antonovich, M.L. Mikhaylov, F.V. Volkovskiy, N.I. Utin, L.F. Panteleyev, A.A. Sleptsov and I.A. Khudyakov--are collected in the next volume in the series "Navigators in the Future Storm." The entire progressive, educated and thinking Russia of that crucial time, as was also the case in subsequent years, cherished the name and cause of N.G. Chernyshevskiy, the leader and ideologue of peasant democracy, from whose works, as V.I. Lenin wrote, "blows the spirit of the class struggle" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 25, p 94); his views are, in many respects, the peak of pre-Marxist social thinking in

Russia. In the course of the compilation of this survey the "Library of Revolutionary Memoirs" was expanded with a collection of memoirs by participants in the populist movement in Petersburg--"the revolutionaries of the 1870s."

We already have four books in the series, dealing with the proletarian stage of the revolutionary, the liberation movement in the country. The first combines the memoirs of participants in the revolutionary movement in Petersburg between 1893 and 1904. Citing Hertzen's description of the Raznochintsy revolutionaries as the "young navigators in the future storm," in his article "In Memory of Hertzen," V.I. Lenin added: "However, this was still not the real storm.

"The storm is the movement of the masses themselves" (op cit., vol 21, p 261). The book "Proletarian Prologue" is precisely about those who were at the origins of the powerful labor movement, who surreptitiously prepared the popular masses for the cleansing storm of the three Russian revolutions.

The reader will receive books especially dealing with the birth and initial steps in the development of the labor movement, the spreading of Marxism and the appearance of the first social democratic circles and organizations in the country. The recollections included in this volume provide a vivid and clear idea of the way in the course of the ideological confrontations with liberal populism, "legal Marxism" and economism, the revolutionary Marxists assumed a dominating position in the liberation movement in the 1890s and the way it began to merge with the mass revolutionary proletarian movement on the basis of a conversion from propaganda conducted within narrow circles to extensive agitation among workers and the way in the course of a sharp ideological struggle Leninism was born as a qualitatively new stage of creative Marxism, the course of preparations for the second RSDWP Congress during which bolshevism was hammered out as a consistent revolutionary trend of social thinking and a proletarian party of a new type. All of these phenomena and processes of universal historical significance are described by the memoir writers against the background of the difficult situation of the Russian proletariat, its poor working and living conditions and the first manifestations of revolutionary heroism, such as the famous Obukhov defense. This is a truly unique data on the day-to-day revolutionary underground.

From the very first steps of RSDWP activities, its ideological opponents disseminated throughout the world the version of the bolsheviks as a party of intellectuals. V.I. Lenin repeatedly and sharply rebuffed the slanderers. Nevertheless, this exposed insinuation is still being promoted in contemporary bourgeois historiography. A clear refutation of such interpretations is found in the collection "Proletarian Prologue." Recollections on the party, Lenin and their proletarian comrades are shared by bolshevik workers V.A. Shelgunov, I.V. Babushkin, V.A. Knyazev, A.S. Shapovalov, G.M. Fisher, Ye.P. Onufriyev, A.A. Mitrevich, S.N. Sulimov, A.P. Taymi, A.V. Shotman and some others. They and many like them were the reliable proletarian backbone of the party. They not only learned Marxism and the art of the revolutionary struggle but also taught them to their class brothers. It was precisely these true leaders of the proletarian masses that Lenin had in mind in saying that Russia has a "worker intelligentsia" (see op cit., vol 4, p 269). Some members of this

glorious cohort subsequently became noted leaders of the party and the Soviet state. A vivid example of this is that of M.I. Kalinin, a turner who worked in several plants in Petersburg, who came from a family of Tver peasants, and whose memoirs on his political development and self-education, which "paralleled the flow of life" (p 207) are also included in the book. A considerable place in the book is dedicated to the notes of professional revolutionaries and worthy representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, such as N.Ye. Burenin, F.V. Lengnik, P.F. Kudelli, Ye.D. Stasov, M.M. Essen and others.

The main character in the memoirs is V.I. Lenin. A large number of the materials in the book describe his comprehensive activities in combining the labor movement with scientific socialism, creating a party of a new type and preparing the working class for its first open battle against Tsarism. The recollections of G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy, N.K. Krupskaya, A.I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova and M.A. Silvin are especially dedicated to Lenin the leader and Lenin the person. Memoir Leniniana, which starts with this volume, is continued in subsequent volumes in the series.

The last three of the already published collections in the series include the memoirs of eyewitnesses and active participants in the events of the three Russian revolutions in Petersburg (Petrograd). The scope and significance of these events on the all-Russian level are determined, above all, by the size and concentration of proletarian forces in the capital, the level of its political consciousness and its organization. In assessing the place and role of the Petrograd proletariat in the Russian revolutionary process, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Peter is not Russia. The workers of Peter are a small part of the workers of Russia. However, they are among the best, most progressive, most conscientious, most revolutionary and firmest detachment of the working class and all working people of Russia, least influenced by meaningless phraseology and meek despair or fear of the bourgeoisie (op cit., vol 36, p 361). This the highest possible assessment of the working class in the city on the Neva was after many years of dedicated struggle, headed by the Bolshevik Party, against Tsarism and capitalism and for the country's socialist future.

The first Russian revolution began with the tragic events of Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905, when bridges and squares in the capital were reddened by the blood of the workers. These events are described in the essay "January 9th" by Maksim Gorkiy, which cannot leave readers indifferent, and the testimony of another eyewitness, L.I. Subbotina, party member since 1904. These materials open the volume "On the Barricades." The recollections of S.I. Gusev, Ye.D. Stasova, N.Ye. Burenin, S.M. Pozner, M.Ye. Gordeyev-Bitner, M.M. Essen, L.A. Fotiyeva, B.M. Knunyants, V.M. Kurochkin, V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, L.A. Lentsner and I.V. Shaurov describe the growth of the revolution, preparations for the armed uprising in Petersburg, the establishment and activities of the capital's soviet of worker deputies, the restless and heroic days of the Petersburg RSDWP Committee, and the appearance of combat worker units. Major aspects of V.I. Lenin's gigantic activities of that time are reflected in most memoirs. They are especially discussed in excerpts from the memoirs of N.K. Krupskaya and A.V. Lunacharskiy which are included in the volume.

In the course of the "dress rehearsal" for the Great October Revolution, the Petersburg working class played one of the leading parts. What is most important is that it was able to preserve and multiply the tremendous experience in revolutionary struggle gained in 1905-1907, carry its faith in the inevitable victory through the dark years of reaction and draw strength from this faith during the hard times of the imperialist war, in order to inflict a mortal blow to Tsarism in February 1917. All of this was made possible thanks to the dedicated work of the bolsheviks among the masses. The events of the revolutionary movement in the period between the defeat of the first Russian revolution and the overthrow of autocracy are the topic of the next volume "The Fall of Tsarism." It includes, above all, the testimony of Petersburg workers-bolsheviks, such as A.M. Buyko, A.I. Kruglov, Ye.P. Onufriyev, M.I. Kalinin, I.I. Yegorov, A.Ye. Badayev, A.A. Andreyev, V.N. Kayurov, I.G. Gavrilov, S.S. Lobov, V.P. Vinogradov, F.A. Lemeshev, N.F. Sveshnikov, I.D. Chugurin, T.K. Kondratyev and A.P. Taymi.

Naturally, the authors of the memoir concentrate on the gathering of revolutionary forces. The excerpt from the essay by A.A. Blok "The Last Days of the Old Regime," written on the basis of the materials of the Extraordinary Investigative Commission of the Provisional Government, which investigated the activities of former Tsarist ministers and high officials, is a necessary and important addition to these memoirs. The poet creates an impressive picture of the total breakdown and collapse of Russian autocracy and the nonentity of the last Tsar who renounced the throne "as though surrendering a squadron" (p 362), and that of his closest stooges who were thinking exclusively of their personal safety and possessions. Without these data the ideas of the reader on the historical legitimacy of what happened would not have been as complete and meaningful.

In the hot footsteps of the victory of the February revolution, A.I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova and M.I. Ulyanova wrote the interesting essay "The Course of Events," which was published in one of the first issues of the revived PRAVDA. "How quickly all of this was accomplished!" we read in the essay. "Like a fairy tale and a fantasy--beautifully and solemnly. In one day we experienced as much as at other times we would experience in an entire year and yet only a few days separate us from the past" (p 223). This was the direct, live feeling of the first days which followed the collapse of Tsarism. However, even during those days of the triumph of the revolution the bolsheviks did not forget the price which had to be paid for all of this and the new tasks and difficulties which were already on the agenda. The struggle of the Russian proletariat, headed by the Leninist Party, for turning the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution was beginning.

The volume "October Days" contains the testimony of 37 active participants in the preparations for and victory of the October armed uprising in Petrograd. The two weeks which preceded the day 25 October 1917, after the RSDWP(b) Central Committee had adopted its historical 10 October resolution on the armed uprising, were filled with most intensive party work for the implementation of the Leninist plan for the preparations for and carrying out the uprising.

The materials in this volume are accordingly classified into two parts. In the first, the history of the preparations for the uprising is recreated on the basis of the testimony of N.K. Krupskaya, G.I. Lomov, V.A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, N.I. Podvoyskiy, I.A. Pyatnitskiy, A.V. Shotman, V.I. Nevskiy and others, most of them most active participants and originators of the process of the political and military and technical support of the armed uprising in the capital. The victorious course of the uprising is described in the memoirs of A.R. Vasilyev, A.F. Ilin-Zhenevskiy, S.S. Pestkovskiy, S.G. Uralov, E.A. Rakhi, I.K. Sazonov, Ye.N. Surkov, G.I. Chudnovskiy, K.S. Yeremeyev, A.V. Lunacharskiy, I.P. Spunde and others. Each one of these names has been recorded in the history of the October armed uprising. "To this day, I cannot recall without amazement such overwhelming work," A.V. Lunacharskiy was to write subsequently. "I considered the activities of the military-revolutionary committee during the October days one of the manifestations of human energy proving the inexhaustible reserves of it found in the revolutionary heart and what this heart can do when summoned by the thundering voice of the revolution" (p 309).

V.I. Lenin, the leader of the revolution and of the uprising, is in the center of all events. In the gigantic maelstrom of the start of the socialist revolution, he "felt himself literally like a fish in water" (p 310). The long-awaited historical moment had come, a moment which had been hastened by the dedicated activities of generations of revolutionary fighters. John Reed was subsequently to describe this event accurately and meaningfully: "It was done.... Lenin and the workers of Petrograd resolved that there would be an uprising, the Petrograd Soviet overthrew the Provisional Government and faced the Congress of Soviets with the fact of a coup d'etat. Now it was necessary to win over the entire huge Russia and, subsequently, the entire world" (p 212). The dawn of a new age in the history of mankind had come.

In completing this survey of the volumes already published of memoirs by the three generations of the Russian liberation movement, the reader is bound to ponder about what it was that linked together the revolutionaries of different historical ages and what were the new features which each generation of them contributed to the way of thinking and acting of the fighters for a democratic and socialist reorganization of society. The materials included in the work provide extremely rich information for images and emotions based on such thoughts, comparisons and conclusions.

The courage, dedication, love of fatherland and one's people and the desire to expose the roots of the sickness in the social body and work for the good of the public in a revolutionary way, making Russia "powerful and prosperous" were all qualities which were organically inherent in the true, the consistent revolutionaries of all generations. Each generation of fighters for freedom embodied the mind, honor and conscience of its age. However, the reader will have the opportunity to see for himself something else as well: the way in which from one stage to another in the liberation movement the revolutionaries acquired greater purposefulness, clarity of social ideals and a vision of the future of the revolutionary struggle, and the way in which their links with the broad popular masses and their understanding of the need to rely on these masses grew and strengthened. Through their dedicated struggle against Tsarism and against the "baseness of the bullets" of the exploiting society,

despite all their errors and mistakes, the palace revolutionaries and hero-Raznochintsy solved the main historical problem: they lit and kept burning the torch of the revolutionary struggle which they carried to a point where it could be taken up and raised to unparalleled heights by the proletarian revolutionaries, by the Bolsheviks-Leninists.

The belief of Decembrist V.I. Shteyngel that "the next century will take up the scalpel of truth" proved prophetic. It was precisely at the turn of the 20th century, with the establishment of revolutionary Marxism and its merger with the mass proletarian movement, that the search for the right revolutionary theory and a victorious revolutionary strategy and tactics came to an end. The flame came from the spark: from the first timid and utopian concepts of the public good and a future democratic and socialist Russia to the theory of scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, from secret societies, circles and exclusive organizations to a mass proletarian party of a new type, from the small streams of revolutionary process to the boiling ocean of popular anger in the three Russian revolutions and the victory of socialism is, metaphorically speaking, the "diagram of continuity" of Russia's revolutionary generations.

To experience and feel the spirit, the essence, the nature of this continuity means to accept the treasury of revolutionary experience of the senior generations. This is particularly important and necessary today, in the stage of accelerated development of all areas of life of our society, when the party has called for giving scope to the initiative and creativity of the masses and to truly revolutionary change.

To sum it up, as a whole we must give a positive rating to this initiative by Leningrad historians and Lenizdat. Revolutionary memoirs have been enriched with a substantive and interesting publication addressed to the mass readership. One could argue as to how successfully the compilers of a given volume in the series have been chosen the authors and excerpts from their memoirs. Particular attention should be paid to another more essential aspect, however, related to the internal integrity of the project.

In such series the organic unity among the three components of each volume is necessary: an introductory article, the memoirs themselves and a scientific comment which includes a description of the individual authors of the recollections included in the volume. The solution of this problem, in our view, leaves something better to be desired, although the scientific substantiation and adequacy of the auxiliary apparatus of the publication as a whole are unquestionable. The reader is entitled to expect not only accurate research but also vivid, memorable descriptions of their authors, consistent with the quality of their memoirs. However, all too frequently we see a rather dry information rather than a truly live depiction of fighters, revolutionaries and innovators. It would have been preferable if the biographic information about the authors had been placed not at the end of the book but immediately preceding their memoirs.

The quality of the introductory articles is uneven. For example, in the volume "Loyal Sons of the Fatherland," the introductory material is totally captivating; in other cases the presentation does not shine with originality

and in others again it comes close to the traditional instructive presentation of an ordinary textbook. However, since other volumes will be published, the editors and compilers will have the opportunity to pursue their creative quests.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the compilers of the "Library of Revolutionary Memoirs" and the Lenizdat collective should hasten with the publication of the subsequent volumes, thus adding to the arsenal of historical revolutionary literature which is so greatly necessary and important to our readers.

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LIFE AND STRUGGLE OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS

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[Review by B. Koval, dr of historical sciences, of the book "Partiya Kak Ona Yest" [The Party as it Truly Is] by Alvaro Cunhal. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 198 pp]

[Text] The book by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, translated into Russian, is in the tone of open scientific analysis of problems which face today the Portuguese communists, their experience and the interpretation of the long-term struggle for a worthy future of their people. The publication of this work could not be more topical and useful.

This ardent revolutionary--antifascist and noted leader of the Portuguese and international communist movement, who voices the collective opinion of the PCP leadership, proves, as though looking through "glass walls," hiding nothing from "outside onlookers," even including open ill-wishers, the internal life in the PCP "home," sharing with the readers his thoughts on acquired experience and difficulties and tasks of the struggle waged under contemporary conditions. "We, Portuguese communists," Cunhal writes in the introduction, "would like to describe truthfully who we are, what we think about, how we act and how we struggle and live" (p 3). This intent has been vividly embodied in the book which strikes with its logic, frankness, simplicity and graphic style as well as theoretical depth and political wisdom. It is as though the author is talking on a one-to-one basis with the readers, describing to them everything, without concealing difficulties and complex problems or embellishing reality, telling the "complete truth" about the party (p 195). This intimate tone is not jarred by a single false note. Loud statements and meaningless admonitions are alien to the author.

One feels that everything discussed by Cunhal developed and matured long ago, finally molded into a political essay in the spirit of the best traditions of Marxist political journalism. The story of the Portuguese Communist Party is a vivid and impressive portrait of the revolutionary vanguard of the toiling people. The author not simply tells the story of the PCP and describes the difficult happenstances of the current stage in its struggle, but also looks at the party as a single creative organism, as a collective revolutionary. In

this book the party and its work come alive and are no longer, as Cunhal says, a "machine."

The Portuguese Communist Party, which was founded in March 1921 as a result of the development of the labor movement in Portugal, under the influence of the October Revolution, and which operated for nearly half a century in a state of profound clandestinity, under a fascist regime, suffering heavy casualties, is presented in its entire maturity and strength, as it is: a militant Marxist-Leninist organization of like-minded people, fighters for the happiness of the working people. Its ideal is the liberation of the working people from all forms of exploitation and oppression, peace and building a "socialist society in the country in accordance with the national characteristics, interests, needs, expectations and desire of the Portuguese people" (p 5).

The party's objectives are simple and clear. But how difficult is the daily political struggle for their implementation! How many sacrifices must be made on the altar of the social liberation of the working people. The Portuguese communists have indeed earned their "right to the truth" which they present to the people. For many decades the PCP was persecuted; dirt was thrown at it and disgusting fabrications were spread on its account, frightening the petit bourgeois with the scarecrow of communism. The time came, however, when the truth of the heroic party and its people triumphed: after the 25 April 1974 revolution, the world properly appreciated the noble activities of the PCP which made a most valuable contribution to the country's liberation from a fascist regime.

Favorable opportunities for the peaceful development of the revolutionary process appeared with the establishment of a democratic system in the country, in the spring of 1974. However, soon afterwards, supported by international reaction, the counterrevolution mounted a frontal attack. In the confrontation between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary trends, which drastically intensified in recent years, some detachments of the democratic forces began to hesitate while others withdrew from active struggle. The revolutionary forces, headed by the Communist Party, opposing the pressure of the enemies of the revolution, is stubbornly defending all the progressive and democratic gains of the Portuguese people in the economic, social and political areas.

However, even under the worst possible circumstances the PCP steadfastly followed its general line, preserving its inflexible loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and firmly rejecting those who, for the sake of temporary advantages, were prepared to violate the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, follow petit bourgeois prejudices or adopt socioreformist views. And if despite the fierce attacks mounted by capitalism on the main gains of the April revolution, such as democratic institutions, a state sector and agrarian reform, were preserved, this was due, above all, to the tremendous efforts of the Communist Party which uncompromisingly defended the interests of the working people and the country's national sovereignty and true independence.

The author raises a number of theoretical and political problems and suggests original creative solutions. His thoughts on the significance of the

experience gained in the course of the class struggle are of unquestionable interest. This pertains to problems which are relevant today but to which contemporary social scientists are paying insufficient attention. "Practical experience," Cunhal notes, and we must agree with him, "provides the deepest roots which nurture theory and are among the strongest foundations for a proper party line and activities" (p 13).

This was frequently mentioned by V.I. Lenin, who called upon the communists always to seek in one experience in the struggle or another universally significant aspects and features. Such experience is the party's memory. However, the author writes, its function is not reduced to a repetition of the past; it is an incentive for new revolutionary action under changed conditions. Revolutionary experience and revolutionary innovation are two inseparable aspects in the development of the class struggle. One cannot advance successfully if the internal dialectics between the two is disturbed. History has repeatedly confirmed the accuracy of this concept. Particularly valuable under contemporary conditions is the international experience of the liberation movement as a whole. "Those who overestimate their own experience, ignoring the experience of others and systematically comparing without any critical analysis their own experience with that of others and, something which is even more dangerous, with the collective experience which has been gained, are prone to commit major errors and have major failures" (p 15).

This precisely is the answer to one of the "secrets" of the PCP which has puzzled its enemies: how, despite fierce political and ideological pressure on the part of the right wing and constant persecution in the bourgeois press did the confidence of the people in the communists steadily increase and how were communist ranks strengthened?

The power of the PCP, Cunhal emphasizes, rests on its class nature which is "asserted and manifested in its ideology, objectives, social composition, organizational structure and work with the masses and, as a whole, in all aspects of its activities" (p 27). In assessing the class nature of the party, with full justification the author gives priority to ideology and to the objectives which guide it and only then to its social composition. This approach is addressed against those who judge the class nature of the party only on the basis of figures and percentages of the social groups represented within it. Naturally, it is equally bad when in pursuit of numbers, exigency regarding party membership is lowered and the party widely opens its doors to politically immature people and to militant bearers of petit bourgeois ideology, which may lead to the abandonment of principles.

The Communist Party, the author goes on in developing his thoughts, must not only be profoundly familiar with the situation and problems of the working people and defend their interests and expectations and be able to determine, on a scientific basis, its objectives under different circumstances. It must have as its organic features loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, permanent live contacts with the masses and high standards of combativeness and revolutionary firmness. "The concept of the PCP concerning the vanguard has nothing in common with false pursuit of a vanguard...., or the old aristocratic or petit bourgeois concepts of "active minority" or "heroes-liberators" (pp 34-35). No socially profound revolution has been made without

the decisive participation of the people's masses. A vanguard which ignores this law is doomed to isolation and defeat.

Many works have been written on the principle of democratic centralism and it may seem difficult to write anything new on this topic. However, here as well the author finds strong colors and new approaches. His descriptions are emotional and sharp. "Intraparty democracy," he says, "is a way of decision-making, a work method, a criterion of discussions and decision-making, a means of action and assumption of a specific stance in life; it is a form of thinking, of feelings and of existence" (p 67). In proving the total groundlessness of one of the most vulgar concepts of bourgeois propaganda, which presents the PCP as some kind of "machine," and the party members as voiceless "little bolts" within it, Cunhal touches upon the most difficult problems of intraparty life and highlights the dialectics of interconnection between the party collective and the personality of the party member. "...A communist raised on democratic principles is a voluntary democrat," the author emphasizes. "He is a democrat because he does not conceive of being anything else; he is a democrat because arrogance and personal glory are alien to him, because he is aware of his own possibilities, respects others, listens to their view, learns from them and acknowledges that others may be right" (ibid). The author expresses his views as though inviting his interlocutor to help him solve the problem and find a way leading to the truth.

The following important topic logically derives from this, a topic which accounts for a significant part of the work. "Leading is a Difficult Task" is the title of one of its sections. The reader understands the great responsibility of the leadership and how important is the level of its experience, competence, ability to work with people and learn from the masses. These thoughts, presented in the book, amazingly coincide in their tonality and trend with the political reports submitted by the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. "Anything which leads to the alienation of the leaders from the primary party organizations must be avoided but anything which brings together and unites all organizations and all party members, including the leading personnel must be encouraged" (p 85) is the truly aphoristic conclusion drawn by A. Cunhal.

Today our party has concentrated its fire on bureaucratism, which is essentially hostile to the restructuring initiated in the country, to mass initiative and creativity and to openness, which makes it appear in its true light. How not to recall at this point M.S. Gorbachev's words to the effect that instead of dealing with the working people bureaucrats prefer to deal with pieces of paper. Such are the harsh but necessary lessons of the truth, without which no single step forward would be possible.

One unquestionable merit of this work is its formulation of problems on the moral and ethical level. Such problems are frequently ignored by researchers and political journalists who specialize in problems of party life. Let us merely enumerate the titles of some sections of the chapter on shaping the moral aspect of the communist: "Love For the Truth," "Party Work is the Source of Inspiration in Life," "Necessary Differences and Rejected Privileges," "Fraternity and Mutual Aid," and "Party Life, Civic Behavior and Private Life." Drawing on extensive practical data borrowed from the

experience of the PCP, the author describes what the true party member should be, from the ordinary member to the leader: modest, honest, principle-minded and loyal to the ideals of communism.

In a frank and, occasionally, even sharp tone, the author warns against the threat of unrestrained praise, flattery, glorification and ascribing the successes achieved by the entire party to a single person. This leads to the blossoming of subservience, toadiness, favoritism and other unhealthy phenomena. In our party, the PCP leader points out, "Authority proceeds not from the claims of those who possess it but from the views of those who accept it" (p 95). Arrogance and narcissism, the author goes on to say in pursuing this thought, could be encountered on various levels of the party apparatus and reflected not only in the most acute but even in less significant forms (a process which appears like the origin of self-aggrandizement). Exceeding one's powers and rights may be expressed in the way leaders "move, speak, behave among comrades, thus demonstrating the highest possible responsibility, or arrogance, frequently unjustified, and a way of expressing views; intolerance of opinions different from one's own; and promoting the type of relations which would indicate, even though without any need whatsoever, who commands and who has the power" (p 91). In such cases, the author says, matters could reach a level of clearly manifested degradation of the ethical order of both the toady and the person he's trying to please (see p 89). No less harmful are the trends of promoting the cult of personality, and an atmosphere of "leaderism." We must bear in mind, Cunhal emphasizes, that the "cult of personality is by no means a situation which can be ordered but a developing process which gradually sinks roots. In that sense as well it is much simpler to prevent its manifestations than to struggle with it after it exists" (p 93). Historical experience confirms the accuracy of this statement.

Similar to this idea are the author's relevant thoughts on having a truly creative and considerate attitude toward the great ideological legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the need totally to eliminate manifestations of dogmatism and bookishness according to which their works are considered not as sources of inspiration and experience or a method for creative quest tested by history, but a collection of quotations suitable for all times and all circumstances. Essentially, this indicates the aspiration of denying any personal responsibility for an independent assessment of new phenomena, a fear of a daring and unusual approach to them.

Patriotism and internationalism are a traditional but always present topic for the communists. Bourgeois propaganda, which tirelessly speculates on this subject, persistently promotes the petty idea that, allegedly, the PCP should prove its "patriotism" by abandoning Marxism-Leninism, breaking relations with fraternal communist and worker parties and finding "its own way." Such postulates of unrequested "advisors," who would like to make the Communist Party "respectable," Cunhal says, conceal the aspiration to emasculate the revolutionary nature of the PCP and to lead it to reformism and class "partnership." He convincingly explains the meaning of the concepts of "patriotism," and "internationalism" and their interpretation by the Portuguese Communists.

In terms of its nature, policies, activities, and objectives, the author emphasizes, the PCP is a national party in the broadest and deepest meaning of the term. It serves its people and its homeland. Pursuing this topic, Cunhal states that at the same time, being a party of the working class, the PCP shows its active solidarity with the struggle of the working people and the communists in other countries. "Duty and responsibility to one's homeland," he notes, "are not only not incompatible with international duty and responsibility but are reciprocally supplementing and inseparable. Patriotism and internationalism are two aspects of the single policy of the revolutionary party of the working class" (p 192).

The author raises many other questions which are interpreted in the same frank and sharp manner. Such greatly necessary and profound works on party topics directly addressed to the mass readership, to party and nonparty members, do not appear all that frequently: The book on the Portuguese Communist Party--a party of a Leninist type--and on the way it truly lives and struggles is a big blow struck at anticommunism, at the threadbare stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda about the communists and their activities, way of life and thinking.

It would be no sin for some of our scientists and political journalists to learn how to write in the same emotional and profound manner about the heroic ways and great accomplishments of the first, the Leninist, party of communists, for many of our publications on party topics continue to suffer from sluggishness, official jargon and schematism.

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THE WRITER'S WORD IS HUMANISM IN ACTION

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[Review by Yu. Surovtsev of the publication of a series]

[Text] ...In its time a lucky and rich idea was formulated, and for the past 3 years, systematically implemented by Izdatelstvo Progress. I am referring to a special series of books on foreign artistic publicism and documentary prose (with similarly designed but differently colored book bindings). The series covers our entire 20th century and most of the materials ends roughly with the 1960s.

Since 1983 almost 20 collections have come out, each one similar to a one-volume "selected" publicistic works of one master or another. We see among the authors world famous writers, who are also very popular in our country, such as Mark Twain, Ernest Hemingway, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, François Moriac, Jaroslav Hašek, Federico García Lorca, Alejo Carpentier, etc. Although they entered world literature primarily with their novels, stories and poetry, political journalism played a substantial role in their works. Above all, it not simply paralleled their fiction but nurtured it and, in turn, received nourishment from it. The initial features of the great character of Švejk came out in satirical newspaper publications authored by Jaroslav Hašek before World War I; many features in the "paradoxical" stories by G.C. Chesterton or the emotional novels by F. Scott Fitzgerald, which are still being read in our country, can be seen in a new way, through the lens of publicism and the critical articles written by these writers, now collected and published by Progress.

Incidentally, let us note that literary-artistic criticism is a natural part of the collected works of many writers and novelists, such as A. Carpentier and F. Moriac and nonfiction and "pure" political journalists, such as E.E. Kisch and Josef Rybak, for instance.

Naturally, the series includes writers whose political journalism is not only significant but perhaps also the most expressive part of their work. Such writers-journalists are primarily people whose creative self-expression led them precisely to the adoption of documentary-publicistic forms, such as the "research-factual" novel, articles, sketches, essays, travelogues or simply

"confession diaries" meant especially for publication. All of these are specific areas of manifestation of the features of the most artistic talent, such as that of Jean Richard Bloch, the "knight of freedom," as he was known, and who earned the Gold Peace Medal for 1950. Egon Erwin Kisch, the "furious reporter," as he described himself; Albert Ries Williams, the tireless chronicler of the October Revolution, who was a friend and defender of our country throughout his life ("How difficult it is to be a writer and friend of the Soviet Union when working in a capitalist country," he wrote in 1956, at the peak of the Cold War. "Always against the current, always struggle." This was a struggle in which he surrendered no positions...). The reader of this series meets with very interesting personalities, precisely as political journalists and essayists: Andre Maurois, who is well known in our country as an author of documentary-biographic novels, less known yet very strong in the character expressiveness of his works of different genres, the Japanese Takashi Kaiko, who exposed the inhuman reality of human life and the refuter of bourgeois self-seeking myths in contemporary and extremely urbanized Japan; one is profoundly touched by reading the strictly research-oriented prose on heroes of the anti-fascist struggle by the Bulgarian Nikolay Khristozov and the Czech Miroslav Ivanov. Something in an openly publicistic article or a gleam of publicistic style may be missed (as is the case with the complex symbolism of the book "The Citadel" by Saint-Exupéry or the "purely" critical-literary articles and "portraits" of British 19th century novelists, in the writing of Charles Percy Snow or some of Scott Fitzgerald's letters...). In the overall content of each volume, however, such materials fit, for they describe the features of the author as a person, a writer and a man of culture and the vicissitudes of his destiny and character.

Variety can appear only where there is originality....

Naturally, I do not intend to cover in a survey the entire series published by Progress. Here every author is a phenomenon and each collection deserves a review of its own.

I shall avoid any whatsoever drastic judgment concerning the publishing principles which have governed the choice of works based on their "geography." What is striking is that the luckiest among the works have been those from the United States, France and Czechoslovakia--four or five collections and four or five names; not one from the Scandinavian countries or Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia has been included; for the time being the continents of Africa and Asia (excluding Japan) and Latin America (excluding Cuba) and Australia... remain "silent." This, however, is only for the time being. The publishing house has extensive plans which take into consideration geographic areas and nationalities.

Great attention should be paid to the artistic articles by authors from the socialist countries, whose share, I hope, will be increased in the future. For the time being, as we pointed out, most of the books are by authors who had already become known before a socialist community had been established. The publishing house must extensively and boldly publish writers whose quest is oriented towards socialism. The single-volume works of J. Hasek, E.E. Kisch, L. Novomeskiy, A.R. Williams and J.-R. Bloch substantially back the arguments of scientist who emphasized different--national as well as

individual--origins of socialist art, which appears and gathers strength while bourgeois relations are still prevalent. Lenin's statement to the effect that in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat the new literature develops and that "this will be a preliterature, for not greed or a career but the ideas of socialism and sympathy for the working people will recruit ever new forces in its ranks" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 104), has been confirmed not only by the experience in the establishment of a socialist artistic culture and the art of socialist realism in our country but also the historical experience of many cultures in foreign countries, prior to October 1917, immediately afterwards and to this day.

I would like to point out that in general world socialist culture has been richer and today is even more so compared with views about it which have occasionally prevailed. Sometimes our critics as well have brought forth as a decisive argument not the objective tonality of the works of one author or another but his declaration of faith in socialism or membership in the communist party. These are important features but not the only or most important ones when applied to artists.

Let us recall here Lenin's concept of the "two cultures" within each national culture in presocialist class-antagonistic ages. It is pertinent to recall this also because so far our literary workers are still trying to interpret this concept as a kind of "tactical" maneuver made by Lenin in 1913 (at the time that he wrote his "Critical Notes on the National Problem"). However, it is precisely the global artistic and cultural process of the 20th century, of the entire century, that makes such an interpretation particularly absurd, for which reason it is proper to recall Lenin's concept precisely here, for it provides an accurate answer to the question of the criteria in the choice of the personalities included in the Progress series.

This familiar view not only notes the existence of social and spiritual-ideological differences in cultures, including the arts, in a class-antagonistic society, but also indicates the profound sources and roots of democratic and socialist cultures.

Democracy is a concept involving not only a socioeconomic or political content (changing with the historical period), but also a moral and psychological content. It is precisely this that most frequently dominates the awareness of the artists. The extent to which their democracy will have been thought-out, ideologically developed and politically channeled, the extent to which it will prove to be consistent and firm during historical trials in which the 20th century has been so generous, and the extent to which it will be internally dynamic or, in other words, the extent to which the possibility will exist of driving forward, toward socialist democracy and the "idea of socialism" and, perhaps, on this spiritual basis, participation in the creation and development of socialist culture and socialist art are all problems which are answered by the great variety of the biographies of real people and the description of real historical circumstances. The history of democratic and socialist culture of the 20th century has had both reverses and turns to the right, for the artist as well is influenced by the predominant bourgeois culture, which is fiercer than ever before today.

That is why today as well, in "formulating the slogan of 'international culture of democracy and the universal labor movement,' we select from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements and exclusively in opposition to bourgeois culture and bourgeois nationalism within each nation" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 24, p 121).

Does this basic Leninist concept narrow our approach to culture in general and to artistic culture in particular? Not in the least. One of the principal innovative values of the Leninist concept is precisely that here we find democratic and socialist "elements" of culture united against the culture of exploiters. Marxism was the first to accomplish this so efficiently, profoundly and with a practical program. The experience of present-day artistic culture confirms the propriety of such unity.

It is also confirmed by the materials included in the series. In reading the collections on Bloch, J. Hasek, L. Novomeskiy, E.E. Kisch and A.R. Williams, it is as though we can trace visibly the path of these writers from a position of general democratic awareness to that of leaders of socialist culture and its active supporters. This path was followed not without difficulties and not only at the start of their careers by many masters of Western culture.

In 1922 Lenin wrote: "In all countries in the world the number of scientists, technicians and artists who are convinced of the need to replace capitalism with another socioeconomic system and who are neither repelled nor frightened by the "terrible difficulties" (in English) of the struggle waged by the Soviet Russians against the entire capitalist world but, conversely, lead them to a realization of the inevitability of the struggle and the need to participate in it to the extent of their own forces, helping the new to surmount the old, is growing more slowly than we would wish it but irrepressibly and steadily" (op. cit., vol 45, pp 147-148).

Today the world is more disparate than ever before. This is the result of 20th century global developments, including cultural progress in the socialist countries and overall socialist culture in the world. To the future of culture variety is a benefit, an organic condition for further progress. This variety in humanistic culture must be welcomed and we must understand that variety does not mean chaos or random kaleidoscopic elements. The world is governed by profound sociohistorical laws which cover its entire gamut of their expression. The main motive forces are, as the new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, world socialism and the worker and communist movements, the peoples of the liberated countries, the mass democratic movements, all of them together acting "against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for peace, democracy and social progress."

The main motive forces of our time are manifested also in the realm of artistic culture, where they become objectively and organizationally unified by the will of the artist and different movements of the intelligentsia, rallied today in the struggle against the culture of world imperialism led by the chauvinistic militarist and aggressive U.S. bourgeois culture. The cultural forces of democracy are rallying also within the countries in the nonsocialist world, again and again proving the ever present and growing significance of the Leninist concept of the alliance between democratic and

socialist elements in culture. Today a broadening of class alliances is taking place in the cultural sphere of the capitalist countries as well, based on anti-monopoly and anti-war actions. Objectively, in this case the struggle for democracy is a structural component of the struggle for socialism.

Life, we frequently say, is the best teacher. This statement has become a stereotype. But should we peel off the cover of the customary and thoughtlessly and easily made statement, we find in this assertion the kernel of an ever-new truth. Life tests the artists and, as we read the books in the Progress series, it is as though we see with our own eyes the manner in which the writers were tested and tempered in the battle for life. They grew precisely as artists and promoters of progress and fighters for truth and justice more than ever whenever they drew inspiration from popular movements which assumed an unparalleled mass nature in the 20th century.

Prewar Europe and, even before that, pre-World War I Europe meant tranquility, civilization and order. It meant the confidence of the bourgeoisie, the financiers and coupon-clippers and the bourgeoisified promoters of liberalism and right-wing social democracy....

But then Mark Twain sarcastically described the actual nature of bourgeois "civilizers," from the United States in Hawaii and from Belgium in the Congo, and he branded the United States this "shelter of all oppressed (as long as they could pay \$50 for the trip)," with a merciless formula: "the United Lynching States"...

Peaceful post-Victorian imperial Britain was the richest and most confident country in the world before the war. However, we read the ironical thoughts of Chesterton, the newspaperman ("the writer for a newspaper") and suddenly, among the apt observations and witty escapades and a restrained British-style humor, we feel the darts of thoughts and summations, such as although the French revolution won the last battle, it lost the purpose for which it began. The world was no longer the same. No one could any longer thoughtlessly walk all over the poor as though they were a carriage-way.... No one will forget now that stones can fly. We may yet see in our lifetime the way they can." "Today the capitalist is the defendant and, in as much as I can help it, he will not come out of the water dry."

It is thus that the century began, with a feeling of rejection of the bourgeois way of life and, for some writers, the bourgeoisie itself.

World War I and, even more so, October 1917 drastically changed the situation on the front of world culture. Anti-war and pro-revolutionary feelings intensified the awareness of the democratic intelligentsia and broadened its ranks. Many artists took a socialist orientation. A clarity of self-definition became necessary (and did appear!) much more strongly than during the "peaceful" start of the century among men of culture. This was precisely the name adopted by the famous group "Clarte" ("light," "clarity") which included writers whose democratic feelings were already turning socialist (H. Barbusse, P. Vaillant-Couturier, A. France, the old master, I. Olbracht, S.K. Neiman, H. Mann, E. Sinclair, N. Hikmet, etc.) and other democratic and pacifist writers (R. Rolland, S. Zweig, Thomas Hardy, Bernard Shaw, Herbert

Wells, Z. Needly, G. Brandes, L. Stoyanov, J. Romain, V. Blasco Ibanez, R. Tagore, etc.), a group whose influence spread over many countries in Europe, America and Asia. In 1922 Lenin expressed the hope for a further spiritual growth of this group and the growth of its influence "in the sense of intensifying and broadening the struggle against imperialist war. The struggle against such a war is worth dedicating one's life to; in this struggle one must be merciless and all sophistry in defending it should be pursued everywhere" (op. cit., vol 45, p 299).

As we know, during the 1920s this group slowly declined, becoming something organized and internationally connected. However, Nikolay Khristozov accurately wrote that "clarity is a word which means not only a platform and a stance but rather an appeal to the future...." The very grounds of the anti-imperialist--democratic and socialist--culture and literature not only did not erode with time but became ever more generously and comprehensively fruitful. This behest of anti-militarism, as the behest of the common struggle in support of the Soviets and the common struggle against the rising of fascism--the embodiment of anti-democracy and aggression of contemporary capitalism--rallied the ranks of the men of progressive culture throughout the world in the 1930s. These lessons of the past as well as the lessons of the great participation in the battle against Hitlerite Germany are still alive.

During the 1930s it also became increasingly clear that a culture inspired by the ideas of socialism and sympathy for the working people could vary in terms of its artistic forms and, therefore, become ever more active spiritually. This is quite instructively and, I would say intimately, described in the collection on the Slovak poet Latso Novomeskiy and the Czech prose writer and journalist Josef Rybak, particularly his memoirs "The Magic Twig" (in more general terms, the testimony of Czechoslovak writers concerning the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s are important in understanding the patterns and present experience in the life of the creative intelligentsia in capitalist countries, for which reason the compilers of the series have perhaps given them such a major role). Regrettably, however, for the time being the series does not include writers from Austria, the GDR and the FRG. The lack of such an essential "area" is clearly an omission on the part of the compilers....

The tremendous and still not fully realized role of spiritual example and guideline (although many valuable studies have been made by our scientists), not for purposes of imitation but of finding where the world is going and how, began to be played as early as the 1920s by the young Soviet culture. A great deal of testimony indicating the gratitude to and respect for it shown by the foreign writers is included in the collection, easily detectable in writers in both socialist and capitalist countries. However, it is not even a matter of such specific cases of respect and gratitude, although they have a great weight and mean a great deal. What matters is to understand the main aspiration in the variety of influences which our artistic culture has on the world. Socialism did not permit the disappearance of the humanistic foundations of culture. It restored and stimulated humanism throughout the world, in all of its "sectors" and "fronts," and in all directions.

At this point, finally, we come to an understanding of broad yet clearly defined criteria of the series. Anything in which the humane attitude toward

man is not suppressed or distorted is worthy of inclusion. At that point, the very act of selecting for this series becomes proof of our broad program of exposing the Soviet people to world humanistic culture in the 20th century.

Today, as M.S. Gorbachev said, "when the contemporary world has become too small and fragile to withstand a war and a policy of force," problems of culture become particularly acute. Gorkiy's question has retained its full import: "With whom are you, masters of culture?" However, this is not a question repeated by history, although on a broader scale than in the past. It has become extremely grave. The very existence of mankind and its culture are becoming doubtful. The reality of the threat of elimination of all life on earth makes an answer to Gorkiy's problem urgent. We clearly know who can destroy mankind for the sake of "imperial ambitions" and a steady stream of profits going to the military-industrial complex. These are the forces of imperialism which are, by their very nature, profoundly hostile to culture. They are anti-human. "Life itself," as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "raises the question of the preservation of culture and defending it from bourgeois corruption and vandalism. This is one of the most important universal tasks. We must not fail to consider the long-term psychological and moral consequences of current imperialist practices in the realm of culture."

That is what makes so important today the entire positive experience of 20th century humanism, which offers a major support in solving the global problems of rescuing culture from death and corruption.

The main impression from reading the published volumes in this series is a feeling of firmness, strength and inexhaustibility of humanistic art and its imperishable nature throughout the storms of the century and its perhaps not direct but steadily increasing activeness in the struggle for human souls and moral values. For a long time (and particularly insistently today) people in the West have been speaking, shouting and having hysterics about the "crisis" in humanism. There is a certain amount of truth in such claims which requires no clarification. Suffice it to take into consideration today's raging of bourgeois pseudoculture presented as "mass culture," a wrong and insulting label, for it is for the consumption of the masses that this slop is being concocted; every hour and every minute a "substitute" is being instilled in the minds of the masses, instead of the type of culture which the Western masses truly need. This anti-culture is for the masses but not for the sake of meeting their needs! To this day there is no crisis in the democratic, in the truly humanistic culture in the West. It is struggling and has struggled throughout this century in a worthy variety of ways. No, it was unable to save mankind from world wars, for it is not according to the laws of the development of this culture that such wars broke out. However, it did save mankind from becoming brutalized and dehumanized during these wars; it took part in the creation of an anti-fascist front of humanists the world over. The lessons of this front are not withering away nor should they now.

Today's tasks of mankind are anti-fascism and anti-imperialism.... The implementation of these tasks today requires particular scope in the joint efforts of the masters of culture. On the historical level as well one can and must speak of the broadening front of humanism in the struggle for peace and the preservation of life on earth, without concealing but presenting the

true scale of contradictions and differences in the views of people with different ideological orientations. For example, by no means can we, who support a socialist ethic, agree with all the ethical orders found in the "Open Letter to the Young Person on the Science of Life," which is the moral testament of A. Maurois; we cannot agree with the concept according to which moral values have not changed through the centuries.... However, such "abstract-anthropological" or "educational" convictions did not prevent Maurois from speaking out against a nuclear catastrophe. In this case belief in reason is fruitful and, we hope, justified. We agree with Maurois when he condemns the immorality disseminated in the West and, in general, share his belief that "moral values are not senseless inventions of threadbare moralists. They are known as values precisely because without them neither the further development of society nor a happy life are possible."

Sir Charles Snow (yes, yes, even among the members of the British House of Lords there are democrats, for our "strange" and conflicting century is paradoxical!), the convinced realist in his literary activities, writer and natural scientist, was one of the first to tell the world of the danger of splitting human culture into strictly technocratic and strictly humanitarian, warning that there appear among intellectuals "wolves with a human mind." Sir Charles P. Snow, I would say, like Gorkiy, accurately noted the main, the greatest, the most vulnerable weakness of the "Western" type of intellectuals: "The danger to Western humanism has always been found in the belief that humanism is the ideology of an exclusive group."

The 20th century virtually uprooted the prejudices of "art for art's sake," and "science for science's sake;" the "ivory towers" in which people still believed at the turn of the century became quite unreliable. To this day, however, individualism has not disappeared. The "obsolete buttress of the old individualism" (J.-R. Bloch) were replaced with new ones and the old ones are being updated and repainted either as technocratic utopias or as the revival of elitist syndromes in the face of the truly unacceptable "mass culture" which was predicted as early as the mid-1920s with horror by Jose Ortega-y-Gasset, the noted Spanish philosopher, culture expert and publicist.

When Hemingway was awarded the Nobel Prize he claimed that "the life of the writer, when he is on the level, is one of loneliness.... By avoiding loneliness he develops as a public figure and frequently this harms his creative work." This, however, was a wrong "formula," refuted by anything significant in the works of this outstanding American writer, fighter against fascism and hater of wars unleashed by the greed of the bourgeois, a person who (as the reader can see in Hemingway's articles) frequently proved through words and actions his sympathy for the popular masses fighting for the just cause. Addressing himself to the Americans immediately after the end of World War II, the writer pronounced words which, to this day, are prophetic: "...unless we learn to understand the needs of the world and to respect the rights, privileges and obligations of all other countries and nations, ... we shall become the same threat to the world as was fascism."

Humanism is not the cause of isolated individuals and does not exist for their sake. Humanism is not a cause of the elect and for the sake of the elect

(individuals, nationalities, countries). Humanism is for the popular masses and for the world at large.

This series, conceived and implemented by Progress, was planned and is being executed on a broad scope. Let us hope that, gradually, in the entire series and not only in each individual volume we shall feel ever more strongly the dynamics of history, from the beginning of the century to the present. The contemporary experience of publicism, related to the life of the world in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to names which became known precisely then in the various literatures of the world is an experience which is still insufficiently present in the series. However, even that which already exists and has come out is quite significant.

Amazing though it might seem initially, if we think about it we detect a profoundly natural similarity of views on the role and significance of publicism shared by many writers who are quite different from one another in other respects. Let us take the example of Alejo Carpentier and Egon Erwin Kisch. The former defined the journalist as "writer working with hot material, in the footsteps of events, studying life every day." If such a writer happens to be an artist he is already training himself for the possibility of using such material as a novelist, i.e., as a "person working retrospectively" "analyzing the event after its completion." The example cited here by the Cuban writer was our own Vsevolod Ivanov, author of unforgettable articles and reports which became a superb literature and his epic novel "Armored Train 14-69," of which Carpentier was so fond.

Egon Erwin Kisch believed that the "true reporter" is a "writer of the truth," a person with a "logical imagination" and "loyalty to scientific and provable truth" and that if he has any "artistic sensitivity" all of this becomes a "work of art" even before it becomes a novel or takes the place of a novel. Kisch considered that the task of literary workers and literary publicists was, above all, to achieve an organic unity between the "approach of the fighter" and the "approach of the artist."

Both of them must be guided by the superior values of culture. "To us the highest values are man and human life; it is man, his life and awareness that our literature must serve," E.E. Kisch wrote.

The Progress series is on the level of this novel key and should continue in this same direction....

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press ? Jan 87) pp 122-123

[Text] G. Parsons. "Chelovek v Sovremenном Mire" [Man in the Contemporary World]. Progress, Moscow, 1985, 429 pages. Reviewed by A. Myslivchenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor.

One does not come all that frequently across a scientific book which can be read from the first to the last page with unflagging interest and trigger a number of thoughts. Such is the case of the collection of selected works by G. Parsons, the noted American Marxist philosopher and dean of the department of philosophy at Bridgeport University, who has become widely known not only for his works but also for tireless activities in the defense of peace and works on strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the United States. His works combine a deep penetration into the essence of phenomena and their original interpretation with a sharp journalistic style and, in places, poetic imagery.

The range of problems which interest Parsons is exceptionally varied: war and peace, struggle for national and social liberation, the crimes of imperialism, the scientific and technical revolution, life and death, ethics, ecology and cosmology. At the same time, there is a logical integrity in the book: all topics discussed by the author are analyzed through the lens of man, his fate and purpose, and the preservation and development of the human species in the nuclear age. It is no accident that one of the pivotal chapters--"The Leninist Theory of the Personality"--analyzes some aspects of the scientific legacy of the great revolutionary philosopher. In addressing himself to his works, the author convincingly explains the Leninist understanding of man as a socially active being in a state of dialectical unity with the surrounding world.

This idea, which sets the trend and feeling of the book, is most fully reflected in the key section "Man. Earth. Universe." We see here the fresh, the unusual view of the author on still poorly studied basic problems of man, related to his origin, nature and motive forces of development and morality. The specific nature of Parsons' research method is that he tries to provide a comprehensive study of man and a philosophical interpretation of his social and private existence. This approach is familiar to many Soviet scientists

who are intensively working today on the theory of man, based on the latest data of psychology, genetics, biology, anthropology, ecology, cosmology and other sciences.

In treating man as an inseparable component of the environment and, even more broadly, of the cosmic process of evolution, the author expresses interesting although sometimes arguable views on the anthropogenesis and correlation between man and nature and the universe and morality. It is difficult to agree with the search for the deep premises for morality on the basis of the physical-chemical and biological levels of development of matter. Some of the concepts expressed in the book could be interpreted in the spirit of ethical naturalism. However, he defines morality as a social phenomenon, indicating the dependence of moral standards on practical activities. "The work of the spirit, initiated by man who is the creation of nature, is not limited to the human body," the author writes. "It enters the body of the 'other' nature and transforms it, as it creates the world of culture. It is thus that the human body and the environment humanize and spiritualize each other, rising to what is significant and valuable" (p 195). With the successful development of this process, the scientist claims, a humanized planet should develop in which "relations between the human individual and other individuals and the rest of the natural world surrounding him are strengthened through joint efforts and aimed at the survival and self-realization of all members of the human species over a long period of time" (p 247).

However, the author sees something else as well: the exploitative nature of capitalism and, as a consequence of the dehumanization of the process of interaction between man and nature, the danger of the outbreak of thermonuclear war. Today, he emphasizes, a sharp conflict has appeared between the "forces of ecological death and ecological life." The preservation and salvation of life on earth can be achieved by a united and harmoniously developed mankind and a transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale, the American philosopher concludes. The time is already here, however, to start an active struggle for a healthy planetary environment "today and in the future, for a global victory of socialism in a world of devastated nature would be a hollow victory" (p 313).

The original thoughts of this scientist are seen in the chapter "The Philosophy of Amazement." Here the author studies the ability to be amazed as one of the characteristic features of man, a feature which has been virtually neglected by our psychologists and philosophers. Parsons considers the ability to be amazed a most important prerequisite not only in cognitive and creative activities but in the social activeness of the masses. As a consistent humanist, he clearly singles out the life-asserting principles in man and his desire for justice and truth and social and ecological harmony, firmly refuting the claims of bourgeois philosophers of an allegedly inherent individualism and egotism in people. "We need," the author notes, "a new concern, love and obligations. We need a new reverential attitude toward life on this planet, its variety and unity, its accomplishments and future opportunities. We must instill a new content in our feelings, actions, thoughts, love, daring and wisdom" (p 299). These words are consistent with a need which is growing throughout the world for a new style of thinking and new approaches to the global problems of mankind in the nuclear missile age.

One may not agree with all of Parsons' views. However, the questionable features do not diminish the merits of the book. Creatively approaching topical problems of the present and bringing to light the depth and wealth of Marxist philosophy, the author also formulates a number of difficult questions the intensified work on which is a topical task of contemporary Marxist-Leninist social science.

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FACTS AND FIGURES REPORTED BY THE USSR CENTRAL STATISTICAL ADMINISTRATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) pp 124-127

[Text] Guided by the instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress on the essential significance of increased openness in the activities of state and other bodies and increasing the population's level of information, the USSR Central Statistical Administration has undertaken the regular publication of short press releases with a view to providing extensive and current familiarization with specific statistical data on the country's economic and social development.

The press releases provide information on the results of the work of the national economy and its sectors and the implementation of plans and socialist pledges, scientific and technical progress, production intensification, structural reorganization of the national economy, utilization of resources, development of the social sphere and other problems.

KOMMUNIST will publish such statistical data on a regular basis. Following is a first selection consisting of some data on the population and the employment structure in the USSR.

Changes in USSR Population Size

	Size at the Beginning of the Year, Million People		Percent of Total Population		
	Total Population	Urban Population	Rural Population	Urban	Rural
1961	216.3	107.9	108.4	49.9	50.1
1966	232.2	123.7	108.5	53.3	46.7
1971	243.9	138.8	105.1	56.9	43.1
1981	266.6	168.9	97.7	63.4	36.6
1986	278.8	182.9	95.9	65.6	34.4

By mid-1986 the country's population totaled 280 million. In the span of a quarter of a century it increased by 62.5 million. Between 1961 and 1965 it averaged an annual increase of 1.4 percent; from 1966 to 1970, 1 percent; in

the past 15 years the average annual growth rates of the population have stayed on the 0.9 percent level.

The population in the eastern parts of the country is increasing at a high rate. During the 11th 5-year period average annual population increases were 1.3 percent for Eastern Siberia, and 1.7 percent for the Far East and Western Siberia. In Tyumen Oblast, where gas and petroleum deposits have been developed extensively, the average annual growth rate of the population was 5.7 percent.

Seventy-two percent of the total population lives in the European and 28 percent in the Asian part of the USSR.

The Soviet Union is the third largest country in the world in population, after China (1,046,400,000 in 1986) and India (750,900,000 in 1985).

Average Annual Number of Workers, Employees and Kolkhoz Members
(million people)

	1960	1970	1980	1985
Workers, employees and kolkhoz members	83.8	106.8	125.6	130.3
Including:				
Workers and employees	62.0	90.2	112.5	117.8
Of these, workers (including junior servicing personnel and guards)	46.2	64.9	78.8	81.7
Kolkhoz members employed in kolkhoz public farming	21.8	16.6	13.1	12.5

Number of Specialists with Higher and Secondary Specialized Training Employed in the National Economy
(15 November Census)

	Total, Million	Including Higher Training	Secondary Specialized Training
1970	16.8	6.8	10.0
1975	22.8	9.5	13.3
1980	28.6	12.1	16.5
1985	33.6	14.5	19.1
1986 (estimate)	35	15	20

Today one out of four people employed in the national economy has higher or secondary specialized training. Women account for 60 percent of the total number of graduated specialists. More than one half of the specialists are employed in production sectors.

The share of specialists with higher and secondary specialized training is as follows: enterprise, establishment and organization managers, 92 percent; heads of departments, sections, bureaus, sectors and groups, 95 percent; chiefs of shops, shifts, and sections and department and livestock farm managers, 74 percent; foremen and production workers, 83 percent.

Although the number of graduate specialists has increased, major shortcomings in their utilization remain. About 4 million of them are overqualified for the positions they hold. Thirty-two percent of the 500,000 specialists with higher skills have blue-collar jobs for the sake of earning higher wages; 24 percent have worker jobs because of disparities between their skill and the nature of the specialization of their enterprises; 9 percent are employed as workers as the result of lack of job openings.

Meanwhile, more than 4 million positions are held by managers and specialists lacking specialized training. The number of such individuals is higher than the national average at communications enterprises, procurement organizations, housing and communal economy and consumer services.

Number of Scientific Workers in the Country
(end of year)

	Total, Thousands	Doctors of Sciences	Candidates of Sciences	Share of Doctors and Candidates of Sciences Among Scientific Workers (%)
Number of scientific, and scientific-education workers				
1980	1,373	38	395	32
1985	1,491	44	464	34
Including:				
In scientific institutions				
1980	734	18	165	25
1985	799	21	191	26
Sectorial sectors				
1980	608	9	109	19
1985	662	10	126	20
Academic sectors				
1980	126	9	56	52
1985	137	11	65	56
Higher educational institutions				
1980	494	18	187	42
1985	517	21	219	47

Currently there are more than 1.5 million scientific and scientific-teaching cadres. One out of three scientific workers is a doctor or candidate of sciences. During the 11th 5-year period scientific cadres increased by 9 percent and individuals holding the scientific degree of doctor or candidate of sciences, by 17 percent.

Twenty percent of doctors of sciences employed in the national economy are under 50 years of age.

About 3,000 scientific workers have the high title of academician, full member or corresponding member of an academy; 28,000 hold the scientific title of professor and about 135,000 are docents.

Birth and Mortality Rates and Natural Population Increase in the USSR

	1970	1980	1983	1984	1985
Thousand people					
Born	4,226	4,851	5,392	5,387	5,374
Died	1,996	2,744	2,823	2,965	2,947
Natural increase	2,230	2,107	2,569	2,422	2,427
Mortality of children under 1	103	132	134	140	140
Per 1,000 population					
Born	17.4	18.3	19.8	19.6	19.4
Died	8.2	10.3	10.4	10.8	10.6
Natural increase	9.2	8.0	9.4	8.8	8.8
Mortality of children under 1 (per 1,000 born)	24.7	27.3	25.3	25.9	26.0

The birthrate in the country increased in the 1983-1985 period. The level of the birthrate remained approximately the same during the first half of 1986. This was largely due to steps taken to increase state aid to families with children.

To a certain extent, the increase in the overall mortality rate between 1970 and 1985 is due to the "aging" of the population--the increased share of elderly among the population, whose mortality rate is higher. Influenza epidemics also substantially influenced the level of mortality in 1984 and 1985.

A decline in the mortality rate has been noted in the country since June 1985; the most significant drop was in deaths caused by accidents, poisoning and traumas (a 24 percent decline compared with the preceding period). The number of people who died of blood circulation diseases substantially declined essentially as a result of the steps taken in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism (by approximately 100,000).

Changes in the Number of Urban Settlements and Size of the Urban Population

	Number of Urban Settlements			Urban Population, Million People		
	Total	Including		Total	Including People Living In	
		Cities	Urban-Type Settlements		Cities	Urban-Type Settlements
1959	4,619	1,679	2,940	100.0	83.0	17.0
1970	5,505	1,935	3,570	136.0	116.3	19.7
1979	5,914	2,062	3,852	163.6	141.9	21.7
1986	6,131	2,170	3,961	182.9	159.5	23.4

The breakdown of the urban population is as follows: 87 percent are residents of cities and 13 percent live in urban-type settlements. More than 39 million urban residents (21 percent) live in cities with a population in excess of 1 million. Currently there are 22 cities with a million population, compared with only three in 1959--Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. In the 1960s Baku, Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Tashkent and Kharkov reached the 1 million population level. After 1970 12 other cities reached that status: Minsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Tbilisi, Odessa, Chelyabinsk, Donetsk, Yerevan, Omsk, Kazan, Perm, Ufa and Alma-Ata. Rostov-na-Donu and Volgograd are expected to reach the million figure in the immediate future.

In the past 15 years alone 232 new cities have been established in the country, including Nadyam, Nizhnevartovsk, Labytnangi, Neryungri, Tynda, Strezhevoy, Novyy Urengoy, Kostomuksha and others. Some industrial cities expanded at a fast pace. Thus, the population of Togliatti rose from 287,000 to 610,000 between 1971 and 1985 (by a factor of 2.1); Nizhnekamsk, from 56,000 to 177,000 (3.2); Surgut, from 39,000 to 215,000 (5.5); Brezhnev, from 55,000 to 459,000 (8.4) and Nizhnevartovsk, from 21,000 to 200,000 (9.7).

Marriages and Divorces in the USSR
Number of Registered Marriages

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1986 (estimate)
Thousands	2,365	2,723	2,725	2,718	2,727
Per 1,000 population	9.7	10.7	10.3	9.8	9.8

There are more than 70 million families in the USSR. Every year more than 2.7 million new marriages take place. The absolute majority of citizens marry. According to the 1985 sociodemographic study, no more than 2.6 percent of men and 3.5 percent of women aged 45 to 49 in the USSR have never married.

A trend toward youthful marriages is clearly manifested in the country: currently 80 percent of women and about 70 percent of men marry at the age of 25, whereas 20 years ago the figures were 70 percent for women and 60 percent for men. This percentage significantly varies geographically: thus, in the republics of Central Asia it is 85-92 percent; it is 80-82 percent for the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia, 76-80 percent for the Baltic Republics and 68-74 percent for the Transcaucasus, in the case of women.

Assuming that the current mortality and divorce rates are maintained, 52.3 percent of married couples would be able to celebrate their silver wedding anniversary and 17.1 percent their golden wedding anniversary.

Number of Registered Divorces in the USSR

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1986 (estimate)
Thousands	686	783	930	933	943
Per 1,000 population	2.6	3.1	3.5	3.4	3.4

Of late the annual divorce rate in the country has been 1.4 percent.

As a result of divorces every year more than 700,000 children under 18 are left without a parent.

Men have significantly higher chances of remarrying: more than 50 percent of men and only 25 percent of women remarry 10 years after a divorce or the death of their partner. Second marriage break-ups are higher by an average of 75 percent compared with first.

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CHRONICLE; MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) p 128

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty relations, KOMMUNIST was visited by Li Chong Nam, deputy editor in chief of (KYLLOCHZHA), theoretical and political journal of the Korean Labor Party Central Committee, and by Kim San Ho, the journal's political commentator, who studied the work of the editors and held talks at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, visited Sokolnicheskiy CPSU Raykom in Moscow, and Vladimir, where they met with the CPSU Oblast Committee and the editors of the newspaper PRIZYV.

A meeting was held at the Political Education House of the Moscow City Party Committee and the Moscow CPSU Committee, between the editors of KOMMUNIST and the ideological aktiv and propagandists of Moscow oblast organizations and establishments. Those present were informed of the work on the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," the creative plans of the journal for 1987 and topical problems in the social sciences. KOMMUNIST associates answered numerous questions.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 29 Dec 86) p 128

[Text] 1. "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Syezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK, 1898-1986" [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums, 1898-1986]. Vol 12, 1971-1975. Ninth expanded and revised edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 574 pp.

2. "KPSS o Profsoyuzakh" [The CPSU on the Trade Unions]. Profizdat, Moscow, 1986, 431 pp.

3. "Amerikanskiy Ekspansionizm" [American Expansionism]. Most recent period. G.N. Sevostyanov, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 611 pp.

4. Afanasyev, V.G. "Mir Zhivogo: Sistemnost, Evolyutsiya i Upravleniye" [The Living World: System, Evolution and Control]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 334 pp.

5. Vishnevskiy, S.S. "Formirovaniya Dukhovnogo Oblika Sovetskogo Cheloveka" [Shaping the Spiritual Aspect of the Soviet Person]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 206 pp.

6. "Voprosy Teorii i Praktiki Ideologicheskoy Raboty. Vypusk 18" [Problems of the Theory and Practice of Ideological Work. No 18]. Compiled by A.I. Yakovlev, responsible editor. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 295 pp.

7. Kudryavtsev, V.N. "Zakon, Postupok, Otvetstvennost" [Law, Action, Criminal Responsibility]. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 448 pp.

8. Kulikov, V.V. "Ekonomicheskiye Protivorechiya Sotsializma: Kharakter i Formy Razresheniya" [The Economic Contradictions of Socialism: Nature and Forms of Resolution]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1986, 144 pp.

9. "Mir i Razoruzheniye" [Peace and Disarmament]. Scientific studies. Special issue. Materials of the Second All-Union Conference of Scientists on Problems of Peace and Prevention of Nuclear War. Moscow, 27-29 May 1986. P.N. Fedoseyev, editor in chief. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 215 pp.

10. Okulov, A.F. "Leninskoye Ateisticheskoye Naslediye i Sovremennoст" [Lenin's Atheistic Legacy and Our Time]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 128 pp.

11. "Spravochnik Propagandista" [Propagandist's Manual]. V.G. Baykova, general editor. Compiled by Ye.G. Komarov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 204 pp.

12. Yanovskiy, R.G., Sbytov, V.F. and Dobrokhotov, L.N. "Chelovecheskiy Faktor Nauchno-Tekhnicheskogo Progressa" [The Human Factor in Scientific and Technical Progress]. Problems of the ideological and political upbringing of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 431 pp.

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